

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

July 10, 1957

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33740)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
INTERNAL SECURITY
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

On 5/24-57, on June 27 and 28, 1957, made available to SA JOHN E. HEATING several dictaphone tape bolts, the transcription of which is located in Chicago file 100-33740-3791. The following intelligible information is contained in this transcription:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Cleveland (100-16006) (CP - USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Detroit (100-) (CP - USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - New York (REGISTERED)
- 1 - 100-30698 (CP - USA, Membership) (19)
- 1 - 100-30698 (SID SMITH) (19)
- 2 - Chicago
- 1 - 100-33740

Director
(6)

100-80635-1219

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| SEARCHED | INDEXED |
| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| JUL 15 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

L. W. Stue
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CG 100-33740

SID BERRY, in commenting on his report on organization to the National Executive Committee on June 22, 1937, and the discussion which followed the report, stated that the leadership in Ohio and in Michigan is trying to keep the situation on a lower level because they are afraid to raise their heads to the political atmosphere and the situation in the Party.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) (19)

DATE: 7/12/57

FROM : SA JAMES P. HALLERON

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

Source

[redacted]
(Protect by T symbol)

Reliability

Who has furnished
reliable information
in the past

Date of Activity

6/19/57

Date Received

7/3/57

Received by

SA [redacted]

Location

[redacted]

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The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

By report dated 6/26/57, [redacted] furnished information concerning the CP membership in the Bronx, N.Y. area.

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The following is the report of [redacted]

ReportCommunist Party U.S.A.
Activities

June 26, 1957

[redacted] told me that he had a talk with [redacted] member of the Bronx County board of the C.P., on the

[redacted]
1-NY (100-319) [redacted] (12-10)
1-NY (100-26603-C40) (C.P. Bronx Co.)
1-NY (100-26603-C320) (C.P. Kingsbridge)

JPH:rmv Rmv
(5)

100-80638-1220

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| FBI - NEW YORK | |

J. Waters

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MEMO
NY 100-80638

question of the amount of members of the Northwest Bronx Section of the Communist Party.

He talked with [] right after the meeting of the Northwest Bronx Section Committee of June 19th, 1957.

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At the June 19th meeting it was figured that the Bronx Northwest Section has at present a membership of some 100 Communists.

[] told [] that the C.P. of the Bronx Northwest Section had in 1955 a membership of "a little over 250-near to 260. This is what the party registration showed in 1955. The Northwest Section lost some 150 members since then. I believe that all the Bronx lost about, proportionally, the same amount of members" and that New York, as a whole, in proportion will show the same losers."

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F B I

Date: 7/2/57

Transmit the following message via Air-TelRegistered Mail

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)(100-3-68)
 FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-31723)(100-32208)

CPUSA - ORGANIZATION
 IS - C

CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP
 IS - C

C I N A L

On 7/1/57, [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA B. PERKOWSKI, Jr., that he had a private discussion with DAVID DAVIS, CPEPD, District Chairman, on 6/29/57. DAVIS told informant he was disturbed following his attendance at the National Resident Committee (National Executive Committee) meeting held the previous week in New York City.

4 - BUREAU (RM)
 2 - 100-3-69
 2 - 100-3-68

⑥ - NEW YORK (RM)
 1 - CPUSA - ORGANIZATION
 ① - CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP
 1 - BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr.
 1 - JOHN GATES
 1 - WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
 1 - SIDNEY STEIN

5 - PHILADELPHIA
 1 - 100-31723
 1 - 100-32208
 1 - 100-2427 (DAVID DAVIS)
 []
 1 - 100-42205 Sub A (CINAL, LIBRARY)

WEH:jag
 (15)

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 DIV. 3
 DIV. 4
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100-80638-1221
 19 JUL 1957
 W. E. Jones 12-10/ R2
 Benford 19-2/ A813

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

PH 100-31723
PH 100-32208

DAVIS stated that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER proposed and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr., supported a national summer recruiting drive for the CP. SIDNEY STEIN commented that the Party had better spend its time in regaining lost members. STEIN said a situation exists in New York where clubs and sections are holding meetings, but do not consider themselves CP members and do not invite CP leaders to attend, although the leaders are being advised that these meetings are being held.

STEIN added that in the period since the 20th Congress, CPSU, the CP membership in the Bronx had dropped from 1100 to 200 members.

DAVID DAVIS also said that at this meeting FOSTER and BENJAMIN DAVIS attacked JOHN GATES, accusing him of attempting to organize a new Party separate from the CP.

FOSTER said he intends to raise the question of a national recruiting drive for the CP at the next National Committee meeting of the CP (7/27,28/57).

Care must be exercised in disseminating the source of this information for protection of the informant.

HENNRICH

N T F
DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

7/10/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

JS
CP USA
MEMBERSHIP
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS - C

ReBulet, 6/27/56, instructing NYO to advise Bureau on a bi-monthly basis beginning 9/1/56, and Bulet 6/11/57, instructing the NYO to commence submitting such letters on a monthly basis beginning 7/1/57, and in addition to the usual information to include the number of individuals who have been tentatively identified as Communists by reason of their recent activities, but who still lack established proof of CP membership.

Set out hereinafter, is a breakdown showing the gain or loss in each county or section of the SI for the period 5/1/57 to 7/1/57.

| <u>Geographical</u> | <u>CP Member 5/1/57</u> | <u>Member Ident. 5/1/57, 6/30/57</u> | <u>Deletion</u> | <u>Net Gain or Loss</u> | <u>CP Members 7/1/57</u> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|--|-----------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Bronx | 411 | 22 | 11 | 11 | 422 |
| Brooklyn | 519 | 29 | 12 | 17 | 536 |
| Queen | 455 | 30 | 10 | 20 | 475 |
| Lower Manhattan | 240 | 17 | 8 | 9 | 249 |
| Mid Manhattan | 239 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 240 |
| Upper Manhattan | 430 | 17 | 9 | 8 | 438 |
| Westchester | 73 | 3 | 7 | -4 | 69 |
| Nassau | 72 | 11 | 7 | -4 | 76 |
| Putnam | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sullivan | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Richmond | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Columbia | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dutchess | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Greene | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Orange | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Rockland | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Suffolk | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Ulster | 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 |
| Verification Pending | 22 | 21 | 0 | 21 | 43 |
| Special Section | 28 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 28 |
| Unavailable | 49 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 49 |
| TOTALS | 2591 | 158 | 71 | 87 | 2678 |

2 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)

1 - New York (100-80638)

TSM:ecb

100-80638-1222

NY 100-80638

A survey of the NYO indicated that since 9/1/57, approximately 219 individuals had been tentatively identified as CP members, but could not be recommended for SI because of the lack of absolute proof. Many of these are further investigated.

The importance of this program is fully realized by the Supervisory Staff and Agents responsible for this program and every effort is being made to identify all the Communists in the N.Y. area by 9/1/57.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b7D

TO : SAC [REDACTED]
FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON
SUBJECT : INFORMATION FURNISHED BY
SECURITY INFORMANT

DATE: 7/18/57

ccs:

6 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- ORGANIZATION, DIST. #4
100- MEMBERSHIP
100- FUNDS
100-20644 [REDACTED]
65-1131 [REDACTED]
100-2686 [REDACTED]

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11 -New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
100- JOHN GATES
100- ALBERT BLUMBERG
100- BEN DAVIS
100- EUGENE DENNIS
100- ORGANIZATION, CP, USA
100- MEMBERSHIP
100- ~~DETECTED CP MEMBERS~~
100- NEGRO QUESTION
100- YOUTH
100- DAILY WORKER

34- Baltimore

[REDACTED]
100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS
100-10975 [REDACTED]
100-12412 [REDACTED]
100-10584 [REDACTED]
100-13646 [REDACTED]
100-8342 [REDACTED]
100-11953 [REDACTED]
100-13563 [REDACTED]
100-18823 [REDACTED]
100-12117 JOHN GATES
100-95 ALBERT BLUMBERG
(CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)

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RCN:cm
(51)

*rec'd by
Mr. BA 7/22/57
RYP*

Waters

100-80638-1223
MB
J. Waters
#19

BALTIMORE COPIES CONTINUED

100-1560 BEN DAVIS
100-3021 EUGENE DENNIS
100-20467 [REDACTED]
100-12209 EAST BALTO. DIST. #4
100-17819 NORTHWEST; DIST. #4
100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DIST. #4
100-4090 BALTO. DIST. #4
100-12170 MEMBERSHIP
100-14569 DEFECTED CP MEMBERS
100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION
100-11951 YOUTH
100-13098 LINE
100-12948 DAILY WORKER
100-12458 FACTIONALISM
100-12470 NATIONAL GROUPS
100-12070 SECURITY MEASURES
100-17820 HCUA
100-12595 WHITE COLLAR SECTION
100-20308 PROFESSIONAL SECTION
100-11950 STEEL; DIST. #4
100-12510 STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY
100-11640 FUNDS

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[REDACTED]

The documentation for this information is as follows:

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| Identity of Source | Date of Activity and/or Description of Information | Date Furn. | Agent | Location |
|--------------------------|--|---------------|----------------------------------|------------|
| [REDACTED] | 6/26/57 District Board meeting | 7/3/57 | ROBERT C. NORTON (Written) | [REDACTED] |

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS
INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY
OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"Baltimore, Maryland
July 3, 1957

"On June 26, 1957, a District Board meeting for the
Communist Party District which comprises Maryland and
Washington, D. C., took place at GEORGE MEYERS' home.
Those in attendance were [REDACTED]
GEORGE MEYERS, and [REDACTED].

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"The meeting got underway at 9:20 PM. At this time
GEORGE MEYERS opened the meeting by stating he would give
a brief report on the National Executive Committee
meeting of the CP which took place in New York City
on June 22, 23, 1957. MEYERS, himself, is a member
of the National Executive Committee.

"MEYERS reported that the first point on the agenda
at the National Executive CP Committee meeting was the
recent Supreme Court decisions concerning Communists,
part of which involved the freeing of the CP members
in California who were up on Smith Act charges. MEYERS
said that the National Executive Committee voted unani-
mously in support of the Supreme Court rulings. MEYERS
said it was generally felt that the time afforded a good
opportunity for the CP to start functioning more openly.
MEYERS said that everyone who attended the National

[REDACTED]

"Executive Committee meeting was told to go back to their respective areas and have discussions with local leaders and the membership at large so that everyone would have a clear picture with regard to the recent Supreme Court decisions. All of the members present at the committee meeting hailed the decisions of the Supreme Court as a victory for the Communist Party, and considered it a turning point for the Communist Party.

"At this National Committee meeting WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman Emeritus, urged all Party leaders to try and break out of their isolated positions and get the Communist Party into motion as soon as possible.

"MEYERS said the second point on the agenda at the National Executive Committee meeting was Organizational Work. It was urged that Party apparatus all over the country should get together and discuss organizational work. No one at the National Executive Committee was prepared on this point, and they were unable to tell how many members they had in their respective areas, how many had left the Party, and other details regarding administrative work within their respective CP areas. It was then decided that this point on the agenda would be brought up at a National Executive Committee meeting in about two months. Meanwhile, the persons in attendance were to go back and prepare for the committee meeting by determining how many active members they had in their respective areas, how many individuals had left the CP, the number of Negroes active in the CP, and the number of Negroes that had left the CP. It was requested that individuals who had left the CP be interviewed in order to determine their reasons for leaving the Party.

"GEORGE MEYERS commented to the District Board at this point that he felt very badly because he was unable to give the National Executive Committee a clear picture of conditions in this area. He said he did not know how many members were active in Washington or in Maryland. He said he did not know how many had left the Communist Party recently from this area, nor did he

[redacted]

"know the feelings of the individual Party members.

"GEORGE MEYERS then requested the other members of the District Board there present to make a survey in order to find out how many members at the present time were active in CP work in this area, and other details requested by the National Executive Committee.

"[redacted] at this point stated that at the next District Board meeting she would be able to give GEORGE MEYERS a picture as to how many paid-up CP members there were in Maryland, and [redacted] who was in Washington, D. C., would be able to supply the information as to the status of the membership in the Washington, D. C., area.

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[redacted] spoke up at this point and said he did not think that it would be necessary to contact [redacted] over in Washington, D. C., at this time since he and GEORGE MEYERS could obtain that information for themselves on their next trip to D. C., which would take place before July 1, 1957.

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"GEORGE MEYERS then resumed his report on the National Executive Committee meeting of June 22, 23, 1957. MEYERS said that the third point on the agenda of the National Committee meeting was Youth. MEYERS said that a long report was made, but that it boiled down to a question as to what the Party wanted to do with youth. MEYERS said it was obvious that it was decided to make youth a big issue in the Party. He pointed out that there was nothing going on at the present time on this subject, but that each person who attended the National Executive Committee meeting was told to go back to his respective CP area and determine what youth organizations were functioning in their areas who had no connection whatsoever with the CP, and try to contact these organizations.

"At this point MEYERS asked those present at the District Board meeting to check into youth organizations in this area that would be interested in discussing socialism.

"MEYERS then went on to report on the fourth point

[redacted]

"on the agenda at the National Executive Committee meeting. MEYERS said that this concerned the Daily Worker. It was proposed at the National Committee meeting to cut down the Daily Worker to four pages, but no decision was made on this point. Some of those present at the National Executive Committee meeting said that articles written and put in the Daily Worker at the time of the Hungarian revolt last fall were false, and were made at a time when the true facts regarding the Hungarian situation were not known.

"After GEORGE MEYERS finished his report on the National Executive Committee meeting, the floor was thrown open for discussion.

[redacted] said that she felt that the general picture with regard to the CP at the present time looks much healthier since the Supreme Court decisions of June 17, 1957. She commented that these decisions would build morale for CP members in this area. [redacted] then pointed out that a number of things had occurred in the past year which cost the CP a number of members. She said a number of CP members in the Northwest and East Baltimore areas left the Party right after the KHRUSHCHEV statement at the Soviet 20th Congress, then the Russian attack on the Hungarians caused more people to leave the Party, and the Daily Worker articles at that time and later made the average reader aware of a split in CP leadership at the highest level. Lastly, a number of CP members left the CP in this area following the HCUA hearings.

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"[redacted] stated that past leadership of the CP in Maryland had caused isolation of its members, and that CP leaders in this area have put no pressure whatsoever on CP sections to do any work.

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"[redacted] then commented that there had been a Chinese couple in this area who had been in the CP but had left because they had been slighted by some CP members.

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[redacted] asked how that had taken place. [redacted] replied that the CP had asked the Chinese couple to

[redacted]

"recruit Chinese people into the Party and meet in their own CP section. The Chinese couple was offended, and shortly thereafter left the CP. [redacted] did not state when this above occurrence had taken place.

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"[redacted] commented that all sections and clubs should discuss the Supreme Court decisions as soon as possible.

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[redacted] said she would survey all the Northwest and Eastern sections and groups, and urge all clubs and sections to elect District Committee members as soon as possible. She said that after the District Committee meets with the District Board, a much clearer picture could be given regarding the feelings of the various individuals who are members of the CP in this area. She commented that some people in the CP want to work and ask for work. She said one person, a man like [redacted] has no section or club but wants to do CP work. She felt that the District Board should take responsibility into its own hands, and make assignments for persons who are in that position.

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"With regard to the youth organizations, [redacted] said that this is an important issue, but at the present time discussion on the matter is enough, and we should check very carefully before recruiting youth into the CP. She pointed out there is a question as to what constitutes youth, and asked how old a person has to be before he is no longer considered to be a youth. This question was not answered by anyone present.

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"[redacted] then made the statement that the two main points that seem to have been raised at the National Executive Committee meeting were organizational work and the Supreme Court decisions. He said it was obvious that a program for work be set up.

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[redacted] agreed with the views of those who had entered the discussion before him. He pointed out that the Supreme Court decisions are the most important item

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[redacted]

"in building the CP. With regard to organizational work, [redacted] said we should re-examine Party work for two years previous, and then plan for the future. [redacted] said that the real reason the Party has lost members is because of a lack of leadership on the part of the functionaries in this area. [redacted] said that security was the only thing that mattered, and that a number of comrades on the former District Board were wholeheartedly in favor of the security outlook.

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[redacted] then said that he had contacted [redacted] and told him that at the District Board meeting of June 20, 1957, a motion had been passed leaving a place open for him on the District Board as a representative from steel. [redacted] said that [redacted] had pointed out to [redacted] that at this time he did not want to meet with the District Board because he is trying to reinstate himself in his job and raise money for the victims of the HCUA hearings of May, 1957. [redacted] further told [redacted] that he hoped if he did participate in District Board activities it would not have the same atmosphere as that of the previous District Board.

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[redacted] then said that a number of white collar workers and professional people in the city of Baltimore left the Party because of actions taken by the steel clubs in the past. She explained that the steel clubs and Party leaders in the past had gotten together and decided that steel clubs should be isolated from other Party groups. [redacted] further stated that the white collar and professional people felt that this was wrong because being thus isolated, the CP steel members were not able to get all of the facts with regard to other CP activities, and other CP groups were unable to get any information with regard to what was occurring in steel.

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"It was apparent to the writer that [redacted] did not like [redacted] criticism of the isolation of the steel clubs. [redacted] said it would not be correct to discuss the steel situation at this time. He urged the District Board members not to close the door on

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[redacted]
[redacted] but added if we were unable to get [redacted]
we might get [redacted] to serve as a member on
the District Board.

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[redacted] then asked GEORGE MEYERS, 'What is the secretary position?'

"GEORGE MEYERS asked, 'What do you mean?'

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[redacted] said, 'At the last meeting you mentioned electing a Chairman and a Secretary.'

"MEYERS replied, 'I'm not too clear on the duties of the Secretary myself.'

"At this point [redacted] made a motion that GEORGE MEYERS be elected as Chairman of the District Board, and [redacted] be elected as Secretary of the District Board.

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"GEORGE MEYERS replied he did not feel that he should accept the position of Chairman at this time since many in the Party did not like him personally.

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[redacted] asked [redacted] whether the Chairman and Secretary positions would be for the District Board alone or for the whole district.

"BOB LEE replied, 'I don't know.'

[redacted] said that since this is the administrative body of the Party, she is of the opinion that she and MEYERS would be responsible for all the activities of the district along with the activities of the District Board if she and MEYERS were elected Secretary and Chairman, respectively, for the District Board.

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"[redacted] then made a motion that GEORGE MEYERS and [redacted] be accepted as Chairman and Secretary of the District Board by acclamation.

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"MEYERS and [redacted] were elected by acclamation, and accepted the office.

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[redacted]

"GEORGE MEYERS said that he and [redacted] had been to Washington, D. C., on June 24, 1957, during the evening and had contacted four people. MEYERS said there was not much discussion, and no one person had a great deal to say. MEYERS said that he had outlined the written proposals which he had submitted to the District Board members at the meeting of June 20, 1957. The Washington, D. C., CP members said that they want time to discuss his proposals. MEYERS said he also had given a brief report to the Washington, D. C., CP members as to what had gone on at the National Executive Committee meetings on June 22, 23, 1957.

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"[redacted] said at the above meeting [redacted] and her husband had been present, along with [redacted] and another man. The three men did not have much to say. [redacted] told [redacted] and GEORGE MEYERS during the time of the above meeting that [redacted] and [redacted] had been over to see her regarding the financial situation of the HCUA victims. She told MEYERS and [redacted] that [redacted] and [redacted] were trying to decide how the money was to be divided.

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[redacted] said he would meet with the steel defense committee of the CP and bring a report to the District Board meeting, which was to take place on July 1, 1957.

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"GEORGE MEYERS made an announcement that there will be three members of the National Executive Committee in Baltimore on July 8, 1957, to discuss organization. MEYERS said he was expecting JOHN GATES and ALBERT BLUMBERG. He said that he wanted BEN DAVIS or EUGENE DENNIS to come, but felt that it would be unlikely since they require court permission to leave New York.

"GEORGE MEYERS then discussed a letter which he had written to [redacted] (this is the way the writing, which was in longhand, appeared to the writer), which concerned an open discussion on socialism. MEYERS stated that the reply from the individual to whom he wrote the letter was to the effect that the individual

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[redacted]

"agreed with some of MEYERS' statements and disagreed with others, but did not believe that this would be the right time to discuss such matters."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

For the information of other offices, [redacted] may be described as having furnished reliable information in the past.

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A copy of this report is going into the file of [redacted] both at Baltimore and Washington Field since it was the opinion of informant, as orally expressed to SA ROBERT C. NORTON on 7/3/57, that the person [redacted] referred to as [redacted] "who was in Washington, D. C." was identical with [redacted]

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A copy of this report is going into the file of [redacted] since informant, on 7/3/57, orally advised SA ROBERT C. NORTON that it was his opinion that the [redacted] who might serve as an alternate to [redacted] on the District Board was [redacted]

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A copy of this report is being assigned to files of [redacted] both at Baltimore and Washington Field, since it was the opinion of informant, as orally expressed to SA ROBERT C. NORTON on 7/3/57, that these three names above were three of the four persons GEORGE MEYERS and [redacted] met with in Washington, D. C. on 6/24/57.

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A copy of this report is going into the file of WILLIAM L. NEUMAN since it is believed that [redacted] is identical with [redacted]

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7/19/57

AIRTEL

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- ___ SEC. 20

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP,
IS C

CINAL

[redacted] on 7/19/57 made available a "Detailed outline for report to National Committee on Party rebuilding". Part 2 of this report captioned "Status of the Party organization" revealed that present national CP membership is 10,000. The report, which was in possession of SID STEIN, secretary in charge of CP national organization, stated in part that six months had passed since the convention and the hope that the convention would mark an end to the decline and usher in a period of growth in the Party has not materialized. The Party has continued to lose members since the convention. The losses are serious in each district--"These figures in themselves do not tell the whole story. Amongst the 10,000 members we have there are hundreds who 'sit on the fence' and hundreds more who are in but inactive. This passivity and inactivity is especially true amongst large sections of the middle leadership." --"These losses have been heaviest where the extreme left and the extreme right have been engaged in the severest factional fight. It was stated that it was not possible to get an exact count of the national membership but that the following totals are believed to be close to the actual present membership:

| | |
|---------------|-------|
| New York | 3,500 |
| N. California | 600 |
| S. California | 1,600 |
| Illinois | 1,600 |
| Ohio | 500 |

- 3 - BUREAU (100-3-68)(RM)
- 1 - NEW YORK (100-128817)(CPUSA, DIST. 2-MEMBERSHIP)(19-2)
- 1 - NEW YORK (100-80638)(19-1)

RJS:HC (19)
(6)

1-Sup. F. J. Smith, 19

Tom

100-80638-1224

PAGE TWO

NY 100-80638

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| Michigan | 350 |
| Massachusetts | 150 |
| Connecticut | 100 |
| E. Pennsylvania | 450 |
| W. Pennsylvania | 50 |
| New Jersey | 600 |
| Washington | 300 |
| Oregon | 60 |
| Maryland | 100 |
| South | 100 |
| Minnesota | 200 |
| Indiana | 75 |
| Wisconsin | 125 |
| Colorado-Rocky Mts. | 100 |
| Missouri-Iowa | 75 |

It is noted that above tabulation totals 10,635. The report stated there were about 10,000 members.

RECEIVED

MEMORANDUM, FBI (100-3-69)

7/19/67

LAW, NEW YORK (100-10001)

CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Informant
Reliability

[redacted]
The [redacted] is in a position to furnish reliable information concerning material maintained at CP National Headquarters, 23 West 25th Street, NY, NY
Date furnished
July 21, 1967
Location of Material NY 100-10001-10004

b7D

Date furnished

Location of Material NY 100-10001-10004

[redacted] on 6/21/67 furnished the following information, which was located in a room used by SID GREEN, Organizational Secretary, CP, USA, at 23 West 25th Street, NY, NY:

b7D

1) A one page typewritten account of CP plans in the New England CP district, listing former members and leaders in membership since the last registration. Attached to this was five pages of interviews with CP functionaries in the New England area. These functionaries voiced their opinion on to what's wrong with the CP today and made suggestions for obtaining unity and rebuilding the Party.

2) Outline for report on party organization, incorporating former membership figures and recent losses in membership from the New England and NY CP districts; listing reasons why people are leaving the CP and including recommendations on various forms of Party organization.

Most of the above material was probably obtained by SID GREEN, Organizational Secretary, CP, USA, in his recent

4 - Bureau (Incls. 4) (100-3-69) (#1 & 2)

2 - 100-3-69 (CP, USA Membership)

1 - Bureau (100-7100) (CP, District VI) (Incl. 1) (#1 & 2)

1 - Bureau (100-1200) (CP District VII) (Incl. 1) (#2)

1 - New York (100-50000) (SID GREEN) (Incl. 1) (#1 & 2)

1 - New York (100-10000) (CP, USA Membership) (Incl. 1) (#1 & 2)

1 - New York (100-80001) (Incl. 1) (#1 & 2)

MAILROOM

(9)

100-80001-1225

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| JUL 21 1967 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

WATSON

NY 100-60341

trip to Boston. STAFF is apparently preparing a detailed report on the organizational status of the CP today. The enclosed outline includes recommendations for future growth and unity in the CP, using the New England and New Jersey CP Districts as typical examples of the present situation in the CP today.

[redacted] will be requested in an attempt to obtain copies of STAFF's final report.

Copies of memoranda number 1 and 2 are being prepared for the Bureau and Boston.

Copies of memoranda number 2 are attached for the Boston Office.

Boston is requested to identify the known listed in memoranda number 1 and to effect and complete dissemination to individual case files.

Extreme caution must be exercised in the dissemination of this information so as not to compromise the identity of the informant.

b7D

Last Reg. 188

Losses - 50 -

State Committee of 18 -- 18 elected, 5 had not been elected.

Chairman - Otis Hood
Exec. Sec - Ben Landi
Treasurer - Ann

Officers - not secretariat. To meet in between and see that decisions are carried out. SC to meet once a month.

This set up is to be reviewed in Fall.

Committees - Organization - Otis
Education - Boom, Bobby, Ben L
T.U. - Lou Johnson

3 people responsible for press campaign -
H-bomb - Mike assigned to work with group.

AFL club - 7-8 people most in different unions.

Packing club - members spread between various locals, cities, etc. - club dissolved.

Dorchester - 3 clubs comprise section. - 27 comrades mostly old times no losses

Industrial - 4 clubs compose sections. -

Roxbury - 2 clubs - 1 is not functioning - 7 left party & "uncertain"

Midtown - language people -

No losses

Winthrop-Chelsea-Revere - 10 people in one club. -

Malden club - 15 functioning 4 dropped out.

NORTH Shore

Brookline - 1 club

Newton - 1 club - not functioning - 8- People with "on the fence"

Waterbury - 1 club - not functioning

Professional - 1 club.

City committee of 10 people - committee of 3 in charge --
Edith - Sue - Hank

Springfield - section leadership has left. Nobody to take responsibility.
12 comrades but 5 "on fence"

Worcester - about 6 people - Hank responsible. - Not functioning -

Lawrence - nothing left - 12 resigned - notified a few want to continue.

Rhode Island - about 12 people who do meet.

New Bedford - 4 - 5 people - nothing functioning.

(Think stollie is going to Conn from New Bedford)

Fall River - small functioning organization - mostly old timers - good contacts - teamsters, textile

New Hampshire - Chase family

Vermont - about 6 people.

Ann - Does not want to do full-time work. Many things are unresolved. We have not yet found the path. Hungary was last straw. Mistakes have been compounded. International experience has shown that "Democratic Centralism" has created the bureaucratic system - leading to executions., where Party was in power. If Foster was in power a lot of heads would roll.

There is core of people ready to assume full responsibility.

Some of the issues that Fast raises, aside from the manner in which he does it - need answering. She does not have the answers. Kardjeli articles were dismissed all too lightly. But most important is the American scene. Is not sure that moving with left groups is going to lead anywhere.

Elsie - 1) The right to dissent is being ~~not~~ utilized in some instances to dismantle. 2) There is another type of ~~the~~ dissent - more subtle - such as refusing to take responsibility and that is harmful. Somewhere along the line somebody should give more thought to this.

3) In looking back, the reason there was some unity is because the membership wanted it. All of our people are bound together by the idea ~~xx~~ of socialism. The one thing the comrades would like to see - a unified leadership -- feels that NC is doing so and was pleased that last District Committee meeting also indicated this.

How are we going to carry out the Program projected- what form of organization should we develop to carry out decisions. Whatever forms we develop we should not freeze it, but should constantly re-examine. The way to nail the stories in the press is to give the membership the facts.

Bobbie-

Hearing the report he feels it is much similar to our situation. Has not been looking forward to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ National Office coming out with directives. Slowly but surely there is a process of getting together. Was heartened by DW fund drive reports. There seems to be more money coming in from other sections of the Party - which indicates that the Party is pulling itself together again. The big feeling is to get down to work.

Otis - We should recognize that the Party is still in semi-legal situation. While the people are active through their mass organizations, we have to find a method of work which our comrades can get together and exchange experiences. We must establish forms so we can be in touch with those who are not now in the Party and which will develop into a broader form of organization. Like what we had in the C.P.A. days, which in itself develops the idea of legality. We should spend much more time exploring our relationship with the labor movement.

Boon - The Party has been through a terrible crisis and we don't have all the answers yet for the future. The center of course is how to build a coalition. Feels that display of DW on Pilgrimage was still some of the old. We must learn to move in lower gear. We need larger and looser forms of organization in which we give our comrades political and ideological orientation rather than trying to ~~xxxx~~ every 7 and det. every 1. There is lack of confidence in the leadership locally. The old method of leadership making decisions and going out to tell the membership what to do won't work. But we have not found a substitute.

There has never been bitterness - people want to hear everybody's point of view.

Ann - We are still an isolated group. Our problem is still how do we get out of our isolation. We have two-fold job.

1) Get out of isolation. We don't have all the answers. Part of it is how we fight for

For legality, our relations to other socialist groups. How we deal with our own membership. Our leadership and membership are groping for answers. Nobody has quick solutions. Millions have accepted the idea that we are a conspiracy not only because the government says so- but also because of what we did.

There are many who left and many who say they are sticking, but the old enthusiasm and confidence is not there. It has been undermined by events, not by our discussion. We lived on a certain arrogance that we had all the answers. Now we are ready to listen to others but the "others" don't know that we have changed.

It is difficult to say whom we can win back. Those who left thinking something new will be organized can be won back if the Party shows its ability to make the turn promised at the Convention, upon our ability to develop the proposed Party Program.

The debate around it will be good. Does not know how districts are handling questions of full-timers. Here we went to the extreme of no full-timers. There is a basis. We are a small district. Together with this there was the particular feeling against Mike.

The problem of leadership is great. We have the problem of giving leadership to a scattered membership.

Mike - Agrees with remark that Sid made in response to the questions. While noting the headway, we are not out of the woods. He feels we can rebuild and bring back many of those who left us providing we have a new approach. Feels that we are not organized well enough to tackle our problems.

1) The majority of the leadership has no contact with the Party. Some of the leading comrades are on the City Committee. This is the result of an exaggerated rank and filism. Does not know who is leading the Party in Boston today?

2) It is true that we want to refresh leadership. But are we going to agree that all those who led in the past are no longer of any use?

Bobby - His own feeling is that the Party will be a functioning organization because we are the biggest socialist organization with most experience. But he has little confidence in himself and the confidence in the people in this room that we can create a proper atmosphere and overcome our difficulties. But we must lead with confidence, not by saying we don't know - at least we must say Let us try this or that method.

Second, we are developing a new method. We are proceeding on the basis of relying on the membership. It was a clear cut decision in the Convention against having full-time leadership because comrades must re-win their leadership. If he was in Boston he would be on the City Committee by earning his way into it, by winning election in the club. The District Committee is improving.

The Education Committee is functioning.

The Org. Committee is getting together.

The T.U. committee is getting together.

We are involving more people in work. The org. Committee is carrying through a Roll Call. He knows exactly where everybody stands in the North Shore.

Otis - One immediate problem to tie up District Committee with Boston City Committee. This can be solved. The other problem is how to rebuild where the organization has fallen apart. But a full-time person did not stop it from falling apart and we cannot solve it by a full-timer.

Phil - Has confidence that we can rebuild. There is a great future for our Party, for Marxism-Leninism. The experience of other countries show it and our own past experiences show it. The economic situation now is such that it is not conducive to people flocking to us. We are now in a period of preparations so that when the masses are ready for us

we will be ready. Before the convention was of the opinion that we should have at least one full-timer. Now he feels we should work for a collective, non-full-time leadership out of which full-time leadership will emerge.

~~Franklin~~ Is not disturbed by the fact that state committee members are not part of Boston City Committee. Is disturbed by personal rejection of some. It is unfortunate that leading comrades were not members of branches. There are varying opinions about leadership. In the process of doing the job the comrades will earn their way. We have a well organized section. There is a great feeling that Ann should be on the City Committee and respect for Ann and her work. We will resolve these questions. We can't be impatient. We should feel our way, involve the whole Party if necessary. Instead of the method of co-optation, or leadership picking, we are now going to the membership for selection of personnel.

Elsie - In pre-convention discussion there was projected the idea that we should change into a political association. The membership rejected it at the convention. The D.C. re-elected 5 of the top leadership. When the full D.C. was elected we would look at it again.

Boon - Feels we should wait a while before we put on a full or part-time people for a while. In Boston - it is not like Bobby says, that it is simply a matter of re-winning leadership. In his club there are many differences but it is being discussed in comradely way. Was elected by club to City Committee. At the City Committee one comrade said that it would be better that somebody else be elected. He went back to the club and asked for somebody else to be elected and somebody else was elected. But the inclusion of comrades of S.C. on C.C. is necessary. Ann should be on it.

Elsie - We need to eliminate gap between leadership and rank and file.

Mike - Believes that what we need is a modus vivendi where we can discuss ideas without being thought the less for. Is still for a political association and will be for many other things, but believes he and others must have the right to think, speak, and discuss-- all must have the right to a respectful hearing.

Believes the proponents of D.C. are now falling into the trap of rank and fileism. Wants to take issue with Bobby because Bobby ~~thinks~~ leaves the impression that he must start from scratch. But does not agree - does not believe that he is discredited.

Mike - On Foster Article - "Whatever laborious progress we have made is being washed down the drain with one ~~deluge~~ *good wave*".

Sue - City Committee

- 1) Foster has done some things that he must be out of his mind. But still she thinks he is one of the most solid leaders we have.
- 2) Mike's attitude is one of stressing "there is no leadership".
- 3) Still can't see peaceful transition.

Dorchester - 3 clubs meeting regularly.

- 1 club is made up of 10 people - older Jewish comrades - with a few younger. No losses.
- 1 club of "men" about 10 members - Jewish men - They belong to mass org.
- 1 club of women - mostly in mass org. - 7 members. There have been no losses in this section - throughout the discussion.

Most of these 27 are old timers or in over 30 years or so in the Party -- with one or two 5 - 10 years.

Most can't see peaceful transition, political association, or these other new questions.

Feels sorry for Mike because really he is much better than any others we have had

around here - but he got loused up, in this situation. It is also possible that Sid Lipshitz undercut him because he wanted his job and a lot of this discussion has been going on.

The Jewish question shook up the older Jewish comrades very much. They went around with asking hearts but their confidence in socialism is so great that they got over it and they did so without the help of the District.

When it first broke all hell broke loose and we had a very difficult time. Even though she knows that it was directed against other than Sam, she feels we ought to go by but should do something about it - even though the main enemy was Sam.

Fran - Active in "defense". Has been contacting people who have left to get them active in defense.

- a) 7 leading people who have definitely dropped out.
- b) 5 important people in mass org. who are on the "burn"

Main reasons for drops - disappointment with the convention - wanted to go much further along the Gates position.

Two main figures left because they disagreed with the discussion of the position of discrimination with leadership, bureaucracy, Mike, etc. They actually had a lot of a Foster position.

Mike - security problems, leading person in this group (Mike's security was discussed over Murphy).

Club of 8 is functioning. The others did meet within last week. The comrades in club feel we should take a year to settle the problems before we do anything. The club has no standing in the party and cannot act as an go along. This point working with Richardson and understanding the situation.

Mike is not the one to remember the Party. Now even he is saying that. She does not think it is all Mike's fault. He did himself make the problems here worse. He can never start to make things better.

Sam's last meeting. Mike refused to speak. Richardson participated. Sam spoke. Sam's speech was going to be a long one. He was on the speaking stand. In that last meeting Sam said last P.S. before that he was a minority of one. He said that he believed in the leadership of a working collection. There were a lot of people here other than left or right. There is a great deal of feeling for the leadership from the rank and file. Feel that by maintaining the membership will develop more "muscle".

She was at the Party ring but was disappointed by the discussion. She felt from the discussion that the party was not going to be a party. She felt with the feeling to stay in. She does not think we can do anything. She feels the party will eventually have to change. She feels that the party is from the masses and is working. She herself is working for the party. Improving the economy, especially Negroes and white. The story of Negroes and "Why do you resist us?"

Fran - Antagonistic feeling that problems can be solved by fighting bureaucracy and leading the bureaucracy in wrong and that our real problems are much deeper. The last one is using this to keep leadership from leading - but even so it is wrong to make that the issue.

Disagree with Mike in constantly sharpening up and inflaming the differences. Even so should go slow and go together - if we can make those who left us feel that we are right.

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Outline for report on party organization.

1) Objective— How to unite and rebuild the party.

More favourable circumstances.

- a) we are getting organized in the center and in the districts.
- b) The growing expression of desire to work out a method of functioning in the face of continuing differences.
- c) Beginnings of mass work.
- d) The Supreme court decisions.
- e) Our convention decisions provide the basis for overcoming our Isolation.

2) It is now decisively important to get an accurate picture of the State of our organization to examine concretely the reasons for our continuing losses and on that basis find some answers. *My experience difficulty in getting concrete figures but we do have some facts about a few districts at the meeting*
data on New England. Organizationally and the political thinking of Important party Cadres and members.

Last registration 186 Losses at least about 50—Many of those remaining have lost enthusiasm and some are on "the fence"

Worst losses;

~~SAVING~~ ~~ROXBURY~~ Two Roxbury clubs—7 dropped—5 on fence

Springfield 12 dropped out 5 on fence

Lawrence 12 resigned

North shore 4 dropped out

State of the rest of the organizations.

Newton—Middle class group of 8 in mass org. On fence

rbury club not functioning, Worcester club not functioning, New Bedford club not functioning, Fall River small functioning organization with good contacts in the labor men,

Fairly well functioning organizations

Dorchester Section 3 clubs no losses—little mass work—some active in Mass org. Jewish old timers.

North Shore 15 active—Meeting regularly—attention to G.E. organized forum

Rhode Island functioning club of 12

Jersey estimates. Maintain 600 in Party as of now though quite a number are not retain of their future status. Losses 125.

²⁰⁰ Essex—50, ¹¹⁵ Farm 15, Hudson 10, Passaic 15, Union 7, Middlesex 8, Bergen 5, Mercer 10, Camden 6

la. Estimate 400\$ remain—100 losses in last period. Wiped out previously in the valley by attacks, ~~25~~ 25 people. Wiped out in Teachers 35. and other losses but the 100 are of more recent vintage.

mass work

- 1) Everywhere—large percentage of comrades in mass org,
- 2) H bomb campaign has caught on in many sections of the Party
- 3) Pilgrimage and civil rights generally ~~receive~~ receive considerable attention
- 4) In some cases *party clubs are developing some community work on their own initiative —*
- 5) *the problem of the public character of the party organization below the district level.*

Character of Club Life

- 1) As seen Most clubs in these areas are not functioning or a-couple Bays
- 2) Those that do —
 - S - R.R. — clubs —
 - North-Shore —
 - Brighton Beach Community club —
 - Distributive club —

Pinning differences of view and Emphasis —

- 1) Quotes from Boston
- 2) Quotes from N.J.

4

Reasons given by people for leaving -

- A) The Party Has No Program - No Leadership is being given
- B) Lost Confidence in S.U. and the Party leadership -
- C) Being a Communist hinders instead of helping my being a Mass leader.
- D) The Mass organizations know what has to be done now - Nobody including the Party leadership knows how to get to Socialism -

How define the common denominator of Reasons for the Continued Exodus —

1) Loss of perspective —

Concretely — When asked what do you mean we lack program — answers are shallow — dissatisfaction Remains —

Basically it is Recognition that formulas worked out by Lenin do not apply here — AND that we have not developed a theoretical foundation for American Socialism Based on American Conditions and Experiences —

Learning from Experiences of other Movements
yes —

Getting involved continuously in debates on Jews in S.U., Hungary, MAO-TS, etc.

NO — will regain perspective as we develop American Road —
Meanwhile will stay if we show seriousness in the direction —

(C)
Cognition of and living with differences -

1) called ~~it~~ This is where I made a mistake -
to act after the convention - my first reaction was
it is due to pressure of working in center but it was
- Expectation that my particular work on the Resolution
full identification with it makes my interpretation of
etc. feel Proof and Everybody must get in line with it
is really disrupting -

2) we must recognize we have differing
Trends - and that we will not
automatically spontaneously work well
together - we will have to
consciously develop Methods of work

examples of strain and Rules of Conduct -
ON National level

ALAN MATH - Foster Exchange

Apotheker Book - Friedman Review -

On forms of party organization -

- 1) should we have industrial class form - No -
- 2) Should we continue shop clubs - Yes -
- 3) should we have functional clubs - No
- 4) should we have larger community clubs - Yes
- 5) should we have get together on Basis of Type of activity - Yes -

Meanwhile our immediate policy should be to encourage the maintenance of any party organization that holds people together -

- 6) How do we maintain contact or/and provide organization for those who will not Rejoin Now -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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|---|------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK | OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK | DATE 7/19/57 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/1 - 7/17/57 |
| TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA | | REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH V. WATERS | TYPED BY elw |
| | | CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C | |

SYNOPSIS:

Quarterly Period
April 1 to June 30, 1957

The National Office of CP USA removed from 101 West 16th St., to 23 West 26th St., NYC, on April 12, 1957. Informant states staff is to "drift" to Chicago. First meeting of full National Committee held April 27-28, 1957, 56 having been elected. National Executive Committee of 20 elected, with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER named Chairman Emeritus. At NEC meeting held May 22 and 23, 1957, National Administrative Committee consisting of 7 secretaries elected: EUGENE DENNIS, National Affairs; SID STEIN, Organization; BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Negro Affairs; JAMES E. JACKSON, Southern Affairs; HY LUMER, Education and Publications; FRED FINE, Labor Affairs; JOHN GATES, Public Relations, with DENNIS as Chairman and STEIN as Secretary.

| | | |
|---|----------------------------|---|
| APPROVED 7 - Bureau (100-3) (RM) | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW |
| COPIES MADE: 1 - G2, 1st Army (RM) 1 - ONI, 3rd ND, NYC (RM) 1 - OSI, 2nd DSI District, USAF (RM) 1 - All Offices (RM) 4 - New York (100-4911) | | 100-80638-1226 |
| | | SEARCHED.....INDEXED..... SERIALIZED.....FILED..... JUL 19 1957 FBI - NEW YORK J. Waters J. D. A. 19 |
| | | |

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS CONTINUED

STEIN reported at June 22 and 23, 1957 NEC meeting on serious internal situation of CP, indicating serious losses and doubt and lack of confidence in leadership and in CP besetting those remaining. National Committee members advised by STEIN on June 6, 1957, that Committee was to meet July 27 and 28, 1957 and discuss as major points Party organization and fight against H bomb. By letter dated May 23, 1957, FOSTER suggested measures for consideration by NEC to halt exodus from CP, urging rallying call to members and ex-members to join in rebuilding and reactivating CP to be followed up with organization of meetings of such persons to unite them around banners of hard-pressed CP. Income of CP USA January 1, 1957 to April 30, 1957 \$72,367.55 with expenditures of \$61,384.21; as of April 30, 1957 its assets were \$16,934.96 and liabilities \$27,265.00. Informant reports DENNIS has installed barbecue grill in his office for burning of CP documents. Informant reports that FOSTER, following National Committee meeting of April 27 and 28, 1957, saw GATES as actual CP leader due to cowardice and duplicity of DENNIS, a "right-winger". FOSTER not elected on first balloting for NEC and his first reaction was to resign from CP. On May 5, 1957, FOSTER described DENNIS as leader of "wavering, vacillating" middle group, and a menace to CP, and political coward. He described GATES as courageous and firm but an opportunist. Informant reports DENNIS on April 30, 1957, had said CP members have forgotten their international duties, DENNIS criticizing May Day declarations for lack of slogans or demands against imperialism, of sympathy for socialism or Latin American countries. At June 22, 1957

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SYNOPSIS CONTINUED

meeting of NEC, DENNIS announced formation of Foreign Affairs Committee with himself as Chairman. At National Committee meeting April 27 and 28, 1957, criticism made in report on "Daily Worker" of tendency to equate US and USSR and of its attitude towards socialist countries. NEC approved report. Editorial in "Daily Worker" June 25, 1957 on UN report on Hungary refers to it as "a crafty blow at peace", having purpose of disrupting mood of peaceful settlement of international differences and fanning of anti-Soviet hatred. National Administrative Committee letter June 5, 1957 on mass activity of CP stated participation in movement to ban H bomb testing had been examined and major attention was being given issue. By letter May 14, 1957 [redacted] as Chairman, National Press Committee, solicited CP districts for orders for supplement to May 19, 1957 "Worker" consisting of 4 pages on H bomb. An editorial on June 6, 1957 "Daily Worker" urged President Eisenhower to join with USSR to end nuclear tests and ban nuclear weapons. NEC meeting of April 29 and 30, 1957, agreed to move Trade Union Department to Chicago, with work on East Coast to be coordinated from NYC. Informant reports CP attempting to recoup losses in labor and seeking way to make most of racketeering revelations. Old industrial concentration plan is contemplated but with only modest effort to get into key industries. DAVIS at April 27 and 28, 1957 NC meeting discussed Pilgrimage of Prayer saying that CP would support it as individuals. "Daily Worker" of June 19, 1957 reported that WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, in reacting to television interview of KHRUSHCHEV, said he was a

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NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS CONTINUED

Communist because he could see only limited concessions to Negroes under capitalism and could find expression as Negro and American only through social struggle. EARL DURHAM reported to NEC meeting June 22 and 23, 1957 that Committee on Youth headed by himself, was to meet soon and National Conference on Youth had been postponed until Fall. "Daily Worker" of May 3, 1957, indicated scheduling of 6th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow July 28 to August 11, 1957 and claimed number of American students plan to attend. "Draft Resolution on Farm Problems", passed out at April 27 and 28, 1957 NC meeting, admitted CP neglect of farm question and need indicated for research on economic conditions and class divisions among farmers. "Farm revolt" seen as growing and becoming effective as farmer-labor alliance is strengthened around anti-monopoly program. Resolution on cultural work adopted by NC on June 20, 1957 claims CP has dealt inadequately with culture and urged: recognition of importance of culture in life of every people and nation, understanding of American life and cultural heritage, opposition to political censorship, breaking away from narrow doctrinaire conception of artist in Party and formation of National Cultural Committee. In resolution on Jewish question, adopted by NC on June 20 1957, confidence is expressed that CPSU, in correcting errors of Stalin period, will give full expression to cultural needs and desires of Jewish people and thus enhance role of USSR as beacon not only for Jews, but all oppressed.

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SYNOPSIS CONTINUED

"Morning Freiheit" on June 2, 1957, announced paper had collected \$183,000 in drive for \$200,000, but pointed out 1957 drive had started with debt of \$65,000. HERBERT APTHEKER, teaching class on May 14, 1957, on "Religion and its Faults", asserted that "this so called religion" was being used to keep the masses in check - that religion is opiate of the people. "The Truth About Hungary" by APTHEKER, published in April, 1957, was said to show "legitimate complaints of the masses.....were distorted" into uprising aimed at destruction of socialism and intensifying cold war. 352 page "Proceedings at the 16th National Convention, CP USA" published in May, 1957. Memo prepared for submission to NAC reflects that New Century Publishers printed 7,000 copies of "Political Affairs" in April, 1957, down almost 3,000 from 1956 monthly average; deficit of "Mainstream" in 1957 expected to be \$12,500. HY LUMER elected Chairman of Education Department at NEC meeting April 29 and 30, 1957. At meeting in Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware district of CP on June 11, 1957, LUMER said that many CP members, even in leadership, have not had Marxist training; that it is necessary to read basic Marxist classics to understand new CP approach to question of socialism in US today. Informant reports CP considering purchase of building accomodating about 400 for new "Workers" school.

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MEMBERSHIP
(Bufile 100-3-68)
(NY file 100-80638)

This section has been prepared by SA
JOSEPH V. WATERS.

On June 21, 1957, T-13 furnished a copy of a letter dated May 23, 1957, directed by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER to the NEC in which he set forth measures to be considered by the NEC at its session on that date, by which the exodus from the Party may be halted. FOSTER suggested that among other things there be initiated a broad and persistent campaign on a national, state and local scale to return to the Party those who had recently dropped out. He suggested triple attention to youth, remarking that in all their activities the recruitment of young men and women must be the first order of business.

FOSTER declared that in view of the conditions and problems facing the Party, that the NEC should immediately issue a rallying statement calling on members and ex-members to join in rebuilding and reactivating the CP. This should be followed up, he said, with an active campaign in the press and the organization of meetings of members and ex-members in all localities and at all levels to round up the membership and unite members and sympathizers around the banners of the hard-pressed CP.

T-6 has advised on May 31, 1957, that [] CP Administrative Secretary and Treasurer, was then preparing a letter to be entitled, "Roll Call", which letter would represent an attempt to register Party members and accomplish the return of those who had left the Party.

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II. INDIVIDUALS

The following named individuals, mentioned in this report, may be identified as follows:

JAMES ALLEN

JOHN LAUTNER, a CP member for over 20 years, who at the time of his expulsion from the CP in January, 1950, was Chairman of the New York State Review Commission, advised in July, 1953, that JAMES ALLEN was formerly editor of the "Daily Worker" and head of the Control Commission of the CP, USA.

T-4 advised on February 13, 1957, that JAMES ALLEN attended the 16th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in New York City, February 9-12, 1957, as a delegate from the Southern Region.

HERBERT APTHEKER

HERBERT APTHEKER testified on July 14, 1954 in the trial of the United States versus Kuzma, et al, for violation of the Smith Act in the United States District Court, Philadelphia. He testified that he was a member of the CP and had been a member of the CP since 1939.

[redacted]
T-6 advised on March 21, 1957, that [redacted] was joining the staff of the CP National Office to serve as "inside man in charge of finances".

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ERIC BERT

During 1954, T-28 advised that ERIC BERT was a new member of the National Farm Commission of the CP, USA,

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and that he attended meetings of this Commission during July and October, 1954.

On March 8, 1955, T-30 advised that ERIC BERT was the new permanent Washington, D.C. correspondent for the "Daily Worker".

ALBERT BLUMBERG

BLUMBERG was convicted in United States District Court, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on March 7, 1956, for violation of the Smith Act in that he was a member of the Communist Party, knowing that it taught and advocated the overthrow and destruction of the United States Government by force and violence. The conviction is being appealed.

The "National Guardian" of October 22, 1956, page 11, column 2, identified ALBERT BLUMBERG as National Legislative Director of the CP.

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that CHARNEY was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

CHARNEY was convicted in the United States District Court, New York, on July 31, 1956, for violation of the Smith Act. His conviction is on appeal.

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JOSEPH CLARK

The "Daily Worker", February 23, 1955, page 1, column 4, announced that JOSEPH CLARK, who was that publication's correspondent in the Soviet Union, would move to the post of "Daily Worker" Foreign Editor.

CHARLES (BOB) COE

T-28 has advised on April 14, 1952, that COE was known to the informant as a member of the National Farm Commission, CP, USA.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

The "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1957, identified BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr. as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that DAVIS was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

DAVIS was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

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DAVE DAVIS

T-31 has reported on April 29, 1957, that DAVE DAVIS was a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that DAVIS had been elected one of 20 members of the National Executive Committee at a meeting of the National Committee on April 27 and 28, 1957.

DAVIS was convicted on August 13, 1954, in United States District Court, Philadelphia, for violation of the Smith Act. This conviction is on appeal.

EUGENE DENNIS

The "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1957, identified EUGENE DENNIS as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9 to 12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that DENNIS was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

DENNIS was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

TOM DENNIS

On April 29, 1957, T-11 identified TOM DENNIS as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

DENNIS was convicted February 16, 1954, in United States District Court, Detroit, for violation of the Smith Act. The conviction is on appeal.

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WILLIAM E. B. DU BOIS

T-9 advised in June, 1950, that W.E.B. DU BOIS, although on friendly terms with the CP for a number of years, did not actually join the CP until about 1944.

EARL DURHAM

The "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1957, identified EARL DURHAM as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that DURHAM was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

[REDACTED]

T-14 on October 13, 1956, described [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] as switchboard operator at the office of the CP, USA.

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HOWARD FAST

The "New York Times", February 1, 1957, reported that FAST had been interviewed on the day before and had said he had disassociated himself from the Communist Party and no longer considered himself a Communist.

The "Daily Worker", February 4, 1957, page 2, column 2, noted that the "New York Times" article on FAST had been verified. It was also stated that until June, 1956, FAST was a columnist for the paper.

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FRED FINE

The "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1957, identified FRED FINE as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that FINE was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27, and 28, 1957.

FINE was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on July 31, 1956, for violation of the Smith Act. The conviction is on appeal.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

The "Daily Worker", January 1, 1951, identified ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 15th National Convention in December, 1950.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that FLYNN was elected, subject to her acceptance, as one of 20 to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

FLYNN was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on January 21, 1953, for violation of the Smith Act.

JAMES W. FORD

The "Daily Worker", June 27, 1957, reported that FORD, a "three times Vice Presidential Candidate" and "veteran Communist leader" was deceased.

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified WILLIAM Z. FOSTER as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that FOSTER was elected Chairman Emeritus and one of 20 elected to CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

FOSTER was indicted in United States District Court, New York, on July 20, 1948, for violation of the Smith Act. He has not been tried because of his health.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] T-55, on April 24, 1957, advised that [REDACTED] is a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

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NAT GANLEY

T-4, on April 29, 1957, identified NAT GANLEY as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

GANLEY was convicted on February 16, 1954, in United States District Court, Detroit, for violation of the Smith Act. The conviction is on appeal.

JOHN GATES

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified JOHN GATES as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

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The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that GATES was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

GATES was convicted in the United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

SIMON W. GERSON

T-31, on April 29, 1957, described SIMON W. GERSON as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

MAX (MAC) GORDON

On September 30, 1955, T-29 has advised that MAX GORDON was acting business manager of the "Daily Worker". T-29 stated GORDON has been a Communist for many years and would still have to be a CP member to hold the above position.

GILBERT GREEN

The "Daily Worker", January 1, 1951, identified GILBERT GREEN as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 15th National Convention in December, 1950.

GREEN was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

GUS HALL

The "Daily Worker", January 1, 1951, identified

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column 1, reported that HEALEY was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting on April 27 and 28, 1957.

HEALEY was indicted December 21, 1951, at Los Angeles for violation of the Smith Act. She awaits a second trial.

HOSEA HUDSON

T-53 has advised on September 14, 1956, that as of August 14, 1956, HOSEA HUDSON was a member of the CP, USA.

JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.

The "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1957, identified JAMES E. JACKSON, Jr., as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9 to 12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that JACKSON was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

JACKSON was convicted in the United States District Court, New York, on July 31, 1956, for violation of the Smith Act. The conviction is on appeal.

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

On April 29, 1957, T-11 described ANTHONY KRCHMAREK as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

On February 11, 1956, KRCHMAREK was convicted in United States District Court, Cleveland, for violation of the Smith Act. His conviction is on appeal.

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ALBERT LANNON

T-56 on March 19, 1957, identified ALBERT LANNON as CP National Waterfront Organizer.

LANNON was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on January 21, 1953, for violation of the Smith Act.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page, column 1, reported that LIGHTFOOT was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

LIGHTFOOT was convicted January 26, 1955, in the United States District Court, Chicago, for violation of the Smith Act in that he was a member of the Communist Party knowing that it taught and advocated the overthrow and destruction of the United States Government by force and violence. The conviction is on appeal.

ALBERT JASON "MICKEY" LIMA

On April 29, 1957, T-4 described MICKEY LIMA as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that LIMA was elected one of the 20 members of the National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting on April 27 and 28, 1957.

LIMA was indicted at Los Angeles on December 21, 1951 for violation of the Smith Act. He awaits a new trial.

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[redacted]
The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified [redacted] as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

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HYMAN LUMER

T-11, on April 29, 1957, identified HYMAN LUMER as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that LUMER was one of the 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

[redacted]
The "Daily Worker" of January 15, 1957, announced that [redacted] had been appointed Editor of "The Worker".

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[redacted]
T-57 has advised on April 3, 1957, that [redacted] [redacted] had been elected as a member of the New Jersey State CP Committee on the New Jersey CP Convention on March 31, 1957.

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GEORGE MEYERS

The "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1957, identified GEORGE MEYERS as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

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The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that MEYERS was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

MEYERS was convicted April 1, 1952, in United States District Court in Baltimore for violation of the Smith Act.

TOM NABRIED

On April 29, 1957, T-4 identified TOM NABRIED as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

On August 13, 1954, NABRIED was convicted in United States District Court, Philadelphia, for violation of the Smith Act. The conviction is being appealed.

STEVE NELSON

On April 29, 1957, T-31 reported that STEVE NELSON was a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

NELSON was indicted January 18, 1952, in United States District Court, Pittsburgh for violation of the Smith Act. He is awaiting a second trial.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

T-4 advised on April 18, 1957, that he knew WILLIAM L. PATTERSON to be a current CP member and former National Executive Secretary of the CRC.

[redacted]

[redacted] T-15 has advised on September 11, 1956, that [redacted] also known as [redacted] had been observed

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performing clerical duties at the office of the CP, USA.

PETTIS PERRY

On January 21, 1953, PERRY was convicted in United States District Court, New York, for violation of the Smith Act.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] T-31, on April 29, 1957, identified [REDACTED] as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

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[REDACTED] was convicted in United States District Court, Philadelphia, on August 13, 1954, for violation of the Smith Act. His conviction is being appealed.

PAUL ROBESON

T-22 advised that in June, 1955, the Council on African Affairs dissolved and at the time of dissolution PAUL ROBESON was Chairman of the organization.

T-9 advised in June, 1950, that PAUL ROBESON was known to him, prior to 1945, as a concealed Communist.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] T-14, on October 16, 1956, described [REDACTED] as a clerical employee of the CP, USA.

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CARL ROSS

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified CARL ROSS as one of 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that ROSS was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

MICHAEL RUSSO

On April 29, 1957, T-4 reported that MICHAEL RUSSO was a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that RUSSO was elected one of 20 members of the National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting on April 27 and 28, 1957.

RUSSO was indicted on May 29, 1956 at Boston for violation of the Smith Act.

MORRIS SCHAPPES

The "Daily Worker", April 3, 1957, page 7, column 5, reported that SCHAPPES was elected to the NY State Committee of the CP at the NY State CP Convention held March 30-31, 1957.

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

T-31 advised on April 29, 1957, that WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN was a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

SCHNEIDERMAN was convicted in United States

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District Court, Los Angeles, on August 5, 1952 for violation of the Smith Act. He awaits a new trial.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] m 39, on October 13, 1956, indicated that [REDACTED] was associated with EUGENE DENNIS as his chauffeur.

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[REDACTED]

On March 29, 1957, T-6 advised he had received information to the effect that [REDACTED] was to replace [REDACTED] as chauffeur-secretary for WILLIAM FOSTER.

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NED "NEMMY" SPARKS

T-16, on October 30, 1956, furnished information indicating that NEMMY SPARKS was a member of the Economic Committee of the CP, USA.

JACK STACHEL

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, identified JACK STACHEL as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 15th National Convention in December, 1950.

STACHEL was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] T-20 advised on June 11, 1957, that [REDACTED] was elected to a five person secretariat at a

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convention of the Harlem section of the CP held on June 8, 1957.

JOSEPH STAROBIN

"The Nation", issue of August 25, 1956, published a letter signed JOSEPH R. STAROBIN. The editorial comment appearing immediately prior to the beginning of this letter stated that the author of the letter, JOSEPH R. STAROBIN, was for 12 years, prior to 1954, foreign editor of the "Daily Worker" and is the author of "Paris to Peking". In his letter, STAROBIN wrote, in part: "In my own case, long-developing differences of view came to a head shortly after I returned from abroad some three years back, and I did not resume activity or membership." (in the CP.)

SIDNEY STEIN

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified SID STEIN as one of 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that STEIN was one of 20 elected to the CP National Executive Committee at a National Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

STEIN was convicted on July 31, 1956, in United States District Court, New York, for violation of the Smith Act. The conviction is on appeal.

JOHN STEUBEN

The "Daily Worker", May 10, 1957, reported the demise on May 9, 1957, of JOHN STEUBEN and noted he had been a Communist for thirty years prior to his resignation from the CP in the past winter.

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[redacted]
[redacted] T-11 advised on April 29, 1957, that [redacted]
[redacted] is a member of the National Committee of the
Communist Party, USA.

The "Daily Worker", May 6, 1957, page 3,
column 1, reported that [redacted] was one of 20 elected to
the CP National Executive Committee at a National
Committee meeting held April 27 and 28, 1957.

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[redacted] was convicted in United States District
Court, New Haven, on March 29, 1956, for violation of the
Smith Act. This is on appeal.

ROBERT THOMPSON

The "Daily Worker", January 1, 1951, identified
ROBERT THOMPSON as a member of the National Committee of
the CP, USA elected at its 15th National Convention in
December, 1950.

THOMPSON was convicted in United States
District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation
of the Smith Act.

PAT TOOHEY

On June 24, 1957, T-28 advised that PAT TOOHEY
was then a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

On July 31, 1956, TRACHTENBERG was convicted
in United States District Court, New York, for violation
of the Smith Act. The conviction is on appeal.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] T-17 has advised on April 4, 1957, that [REDACTED] was elected to the New York State CP Committee at a convention held March 30 and 31, 1957.

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[REDACTED] was convicted for violation of the Smith Act on February 11, 1956, at the United States District Court, Cleveland, Ohio. The conviction is being appealed.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE

T-11, on April 29, 1957, identified WILLIAM WEINSTONE as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

WEINSTONE was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on January 21, 1953, for violation of the Smith Act.

MAX WEISS

T-11 has advised in November, 1956, that MAX WEISS was then a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA and was National Educational Director.

WEISS was indicted in United States District Court, Chicago, on May 14, 1954, for violation of the Smith Act. He has not yet been tried.

JOHN WILLIAMSON

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, identified JOHN WILLIAMSON as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 15th National Convention in December, 1950.

JOHN WILLIAMSON was convicted October 14, 1949, in the United States District Court, New York, for violation

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of the Smith Act. He was released from prison on March 1, 1955. WILLIAMSON was granted permission to leave the United States voluntarily under warrant of deportation and departed the United States for England on May 4, 1955.

HENRY WINSTON

The "Daily Worker", January 1, 1951, identified HENRY WINSTON as a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at its 15th National Convention in December, 1950.

WINSTON was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

CARL WINTER

The "Daily Worker", February 13, 1957, identified CARL WINTER as one of the 20 members-at-large of the National Committee of the CP, USA elected at the 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker," May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1, reported that WINTER had been elected one of 20 members of the National Executive Committee at a meeting of the National Committee held April 27 and 28, 1957.

WINTER was convicted in United States District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949, for violation of the Smith Act.

ISADORE WOFSY

T-31, on May 27, 1955, described ISADORE WOFSY as nominal treasurer of the CP.

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[redacted]
[redacted] T-44 reported on March 11, 1957 that [redacted]
[redacted] attended a meeting of the New York State CP
Committee on March 9, 1957.

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[redacted]
[redacted] T-18 has advised on June 4, 1955, that
[redacted] was then the secretary-chauffeur of WILLIAM
Z. FOSTER.

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III. GLOSSARY OF ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

The following organizations and publications mentioned in this report may be characterized as follows:

AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION (AFFSE)

According to an article appearing in the May 13, 1957, issue of the "Daily Worker," page 1, column 2, A. J. MUSTE, well known pacifist, announced the formation of the AFFSE. According to this article, the American Forum seeks to promote "study and serious untrammelled political discussions among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives.... however, deep and bitter their differences may have been."

This article reflects that a forty- member national committee had been established and according to MUSTE, these persons serve as individuals and not as delegated representatives of any group.

MUSTE, according to this article, stated that the American Forum is not a membership organization and does not propose to promote united action by various parties or groups, mergers or new organizations.

The article reflects that among other purposes the AFFSE seeks to call attention to the various publications of the groups whose people engage in discussion; to publish bulletins or pamphlets; to organize regional and national conferences; contribute to the building of new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination and hope among the progressive and radical forces in this country.

ARMENIAN PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA (APLA)

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS (CRC)

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"DAILY WORKER" (DW)

An East coast daily Communist newspaper.

JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"JEWISH LIFE"

- "1. 'Among typical examples of the Communist press & publications.' (Published by the Morning Freiheit Assoc., Inc.)(Calif. Committee on Un-American Activities Report, 1948, p. 49 & 225).
- "2. A Communist international publication distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass.
(Mass. House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281)."

LABOR PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF CANADA

T-6 has described the Labor Progressive Party of Canada as the Communist Party of that country.

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LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"MAINSTREAM"

- "1. Cited as the successor to New Masses, 'a Communist magazine.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 75; also cited in House Report 1694 on Organized Communism in the United States, May 28, 1954, originally released August 19, 1953, p. 98.)"

"MORNING FREIHEIT"

The "DW" for December 9, 1948, page 7, column 1, editorially referred to the "Morning Freiheit" as the Jewish language Communist newspaper.

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The 1949 report of the California Committee on Un-American Activities cited the "National Guardian" as a publication, launched in New York in 1948, aiming at national circulation, which it found to be from its inception notoriously Stalinist in its staff, writers, management and content. (1949 report of the California Senate Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, page 394.)

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

- "1. 'An official Communist Party publishing house, which has published the works of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, Communist Party chairman and executive secretary, respectively, as well as the theoretical magazine of the

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"'party known as Political Affairs and the Constitution of the Communist Party, U.S.A.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1929 on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government of Force and Violence, May 11, 1948, pp. 7 and 34.)"

"POLITICAL AFFAIRS"

- "1. 'Cited as an 'official Communist Party monthly theoretical organ.' 'Political Affairs, formerly known as The Communist, "a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America," now calls itself "a magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism." Its chief editor is Eugene Dennis, executive secretary of the party.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence, 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 5 and 36; also cited in House Report 209 on the Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power, April 1, 1947, p. 25.)"

"THE WORKER"

The weekend edition of the "Daily Worker."

"LRAPER"

"Lraper" is an Armenian language publication owned by the APLA.

YUGOSLAV AMERICAN COOPERATIVE HOME, INC.

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: 7/19/57

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
IS - C

Enclosed are seven copies of a report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, 7/19/57, NY. Copies of this report have been designated for all offices in accordance with specific Bureau instructions.

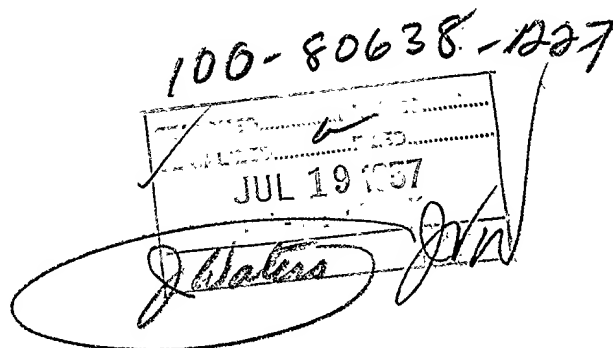
Also enclosed are two copies each of pages noting that no pertinent information was developed during the pertinent period on the following activities of the CP, USA:

Underground Operations
Colonial Matters
Women Matters
Veterans' Matters

There are also enclosed for the Bureau two sets of pages setting out information obtained during the pertinent period of CP, USA entitled: International Relations. One copy of pages on this subject matter is sent as an enclosure to each office. This information is set forth separately from the details of the above report because it tends to identify T-4.

2- Bureau (100-3) (ENCLS. 24) (RM)
1- ALL OFFICES (ENCLS. 3) (RM)
1- NY (100-4931)

JVW:vd #19
(54)



NY 100-4931

Set out as a part of this memorandum is a list of informants, and their identification, who are utilized in the report.

Also enclosed are seven copies for the Bureau and one copy to each office of a memorandum, suitable for dissemination, setting out the reliability of these informants.

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report pertinent activities of the CP, USA, for the quarterly period, 7/1/57 to 9/30/57.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, 4/19/57, NY.

NY 100-4931

INFORMANTS

| IDENTITY OF SOURCE | DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION |
|-----------------------|---|
|-----------------------|---|

T-1
NY 1697-S*

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER invited to attend reception at Hungarian Embassy.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER received letter from

Statements of WM. Z. FOSTER On his election as Chairman Emeritus of CP.

Comment of WM. Z. FOSTER on meeting of 5/10/57.

WM. Z. FOSTER statement that he was through with EUGENE DENNIS.

WM. Z. FOSTER statement that it is only matter of time before political action association is again mentioned.

Statements of WM. Z. FOSTER that EUGENE DENNIS is leader of middle group and wants only to be leader of the Party; that JOHN GATES is courageous, firm personality.

T-2

Furnished letter from CP of Sweden

T-3

Furnished letter from CP of France re American imperialism.

BEN DAVIS spoke in support of Pilgrimage to Washington

4/17/57 letter of FRED FINE on reporting for NC meeting of 4/27 and 28/57.

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NY 100-4931

| IDENTITY OF SOURCE | DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION |
|-----------------------|---|
| T-3(continued) | 5/8/57 letter of SID STEIN on NEC meeting. |
| T-4 CG 5824-S* | <p>DENNIS' Plans to establish Foreign Affairs Committee.</p> <p>LEM HARRIS desires meeting with Mexican CP on farm matters.</p> <p>Info. re: criticism of DW at NC meeting 4/27, 28/57.</p> <p>Report on the CP of Canada and [redacted] criticism of CP, USA.</p> <p>Report on the CP's of Mexico and Latin-America.</p> <p>Info. re: possible establishment of Office of International Secretary.</p> <p>Made available a letter on the letterhead of New Century Publishers, announcing a new book by W.E.B. DU BOIS.</p> <p>Letter dated 5/14/57, addressed to "All Districts" and signed [redacted] Chairman National Press Committee".</p> <p>Letter dated 6/5/57, addressed to "All State and District Committees" and signed "National Administrative Committee".</p> <p>BEN DAVIS in charge of Negro Work.</p> <p>CP to participate in Pilgrimage on 5/17/57.</p> <p>Associates of Rev. KING appealed to CP for support.</p> |

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NY 100-4931

| IDENTITY OF SOURCE | DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION |
|-----------------------|---|
| T-4(continued) | <p>BEN DAVIS spoke in support of Pilgrimage to Washington.</p> <p>JAMES ALLEN planned tour of Midwestern cities to set up a CP literature apparatus on a national scale.</p> <p>Documentation of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, JAMES ALLEN, MICKEY LIMA, TOM NABRIED, MICHAEL RUSSO, NAT GANLEY.</p> <p>Made available "Draft Resolution on Farm Problems" April, 1957.</p> <p>Reason for election to NEC of WM. Z. FOSTER, SID STEIN and EARL DURHAM.</p> <p>Scheduling of meeting of NEC on 6/22 and 23/57; meeting of Appeals Committee on 6/22/57; meeting of National Committee on 7/26/57.</p> <p>Proceedings at 6/23/57 session of NEC meeting.</p> <p>Remarks of WM. Z. FOSTER on 4/28/57 on proposals for leadership.</p> <p>Statement of EARL DURHAM on failure of Party leaders to cooperate and on loss of members.</p> <p>"Daily Worker" report.</p> <p>Remarks of EARL DURHAM at N.E.C. meeting 6/22, 23/57 on Party's Youth matters.</p> |

T-5

[REDACTED]

Furnished letter from [REDACTED] to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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NY 100-4931

IDENTITY
OF SOURCE

DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR
DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION

T-6
NY 694-S*

Status of HYMAN LUMER and NED SPARKS
" " [redacted] and ISADORE WOFSY
" " [redacted] and [redacted]

b6
b7C

Documentation of [redacted]

LPP of Canada

Increase in wages at CP, USA Office.
EUGENE DENNIS installed grill in office.
BEN DAVIS resigned from Negro Commission.

Made available document captioned:
"Resolution on Cultural Work"

"Resolution on the Jewish Question in the
USSR".

[redacted] preparing "roll call" letter to
register members and win back defectors.

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Observations of WM. Z. FOSTER on N.C.
meeting of 4/27 and 28/57.

Info. re: Establishment of CP Schools.

T-7

[redacted]

Documentation of MORRIS CHILDS

T-8

[redacted]

Jefferson School of Social Science Library
moved to 34 W. 15th St., NYC, and
renamed Social Science Library.

b7D

Announcement of continuation of JSSS classes.

T-9
LOUIS BUDENZ
(by request)

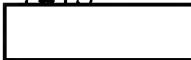
Documentation of W.E.B. DU BOIS and PAUL
ROBESON.

NY 100-4931

IDENTITY
OF SOURCE

DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR
DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION

T-10



Made available a letter dated
5/14/57, signed by

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T-11

CG 5824-S*

Foreign Affairs Committee established at
NEC meeting, 6/22, 23/57.

MORRIS CHILDS selected to be fraternal
delegate to LPP Convention.

DENNIS considering sending representative
to Soviet Union.

Made available a letter on the letterhead
of New Century Publishers announcing book
by HERBERT APTHEKER, "The Truth About
Hungary".

HYMAN LUMER, member of the National
Administrative Committee, in charge of
Education and Publications.

Invalidation of 4 ballots made possible
election of BEN DAVIS to NEC.

Activity of FRED FINE in connection with
removal of CP to Chicago.

Assignment of MORRIS CHILDS, THOMAS NABRIED
and PAT TOOHEY to National Appeals
Commission and scheduling of first meeting
of Commission on 5/23 or 24/57.

WM. Z. FOSTER does not care if only few
left in Party.

Information re: Trade Union Department.

Document entitled: "The Challenge Before The
American Labor Movement".

NY 100-4931

| IDENTITY OF SOURCE | DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION |
|-----------------------|---|
|-----------------------|---|

T-11 (continued) Letter on CP, USA letterhead dated 6/5/57

Info. re: Establishment of CP Education Department.

Documentation of [REDACTED] MAX WEISS, HYMAN LUMER, TOM DENNIS, WILLIAM WEINSTONE, ANTHONY KRCHMAREK.

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T-12

[REDACTED]

CP National Office Financial Statements

b7D

T-13

[REDACTED]

5/7/57 memo of WM. Z. FOSTER to Coordinating Committee on cleansing Party of factionalism.

b7D

Description of 23 West 26th St., NYC

CP National Office Payroll Data

5/23/57 letter of WM. Z. FOSTER re recruiting.

Made available a memorandum to the National Committee re: the financial condition of "Mainstream" and "Political Affairs".

Material re S.R.C.

Letter dated 5/4/57 re: Farm Matters.

Letter dated 5/11/57 re: Youth Resolution.

T-14

NY 1726-S*

Documentation of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
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Location of CP National Office at 101 West 16th Street, NYC

NY 100-4931

| IDENTITY OF SOURCE | DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION |
|--|--|
| T-15 [redacted] | Documentation of [redacted] |
| T-16 NY 1850-S* | Documentation of NEMMY SPARKS |
| T-17 [redacted] | Documentation of [redacted] Made available a letter dated 5/17/57, on letterhead of "Mainstream" Made available a mimeographed letter 4/26/57, on letterhead of "Daily Worker", and signed [redacted] CP defense office to be removed from 11 Park Place to 23 West 26th St., NYC |
| T-18 NY 1317-S* | Documentation of [redacted] |
| T-19 [redacted] | Transfer from Ohio to National Office of HYMAN LUMER. |
| T-20 [redacted] | Documentation of [redacted] |
| T-21 Confidential Source [redacted] [redacted] Port Agent, National Maritime Union, 822 Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. | Made available a letter dated 5/29/57, from the CP of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, enclosing leaflet entitled: "House Cleaning by Labor, Not House Wrecking by Congress". |
| T-22 [redacted] | Documentation of PAUL ROBESON |

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NY 100-4931

IDENTITY
OF SOURCE

DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR
DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION

T-23

[REDACTED]

Letter dated 5/27/57, addressed to "All State Chairmen and Secretaries" and signed: "Comradely yours, EUGENE DENNIS, National Administrative Committee".

b7D

T-24

NY 1989-S*

Existence and Responsibility of SRC
Existence and Function of Secretaries of SRC
Information from SRC meeting 6/25-26/57
Information re SRC Funds

Documentation of [REDACTED]

Information pertaining to Security Measures of SRC

Letter signed by HY LUMER and document: "Discussion Guide on CP Constitution".

b6
b7C

T-25

[REDACTED]

1956 CRC Financial Statement

b7D

T-26

[REDACTED]

Class on Topic, "Religion and its Faults", conducted on 5/14/57.

b7D

T-27

[REDACTED]

Panel Source

Class on American History, held on 1/29/57.

b7D

T-28

[REDACTED]

Documentation of CHARLES COE, ERIC BERT and PAT TOOHEY

b7D

Committee to reconstruct CP's Farm Commission, 4/29/57

Book on American Agricultural Situation.

NY 100-4931

IDENTITY
OF SOURCE

DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR
DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION

T-28 (continued) NEC meeting 5/23/57 and 5/24/57 re
Farm Matters.

CP farm commission meeting, 6/21/57.

Staff of CP to "drift" to Chicago, with
hope of setting up office there within
nine months.

EARL DURHAM made chairman of Party's
Youth Commission

Proceedings at 5/22 and 23/57 meeting of NEC.

Furnished 5/29/57 letter of SID STEIN
giving account of 5/22 and 23/57 meeting of NEC.

Info. on Appeals Commission.
Furnished 6/6/57 letter of SID STEIN.
Report on 6/22/57 session of NEC meeting.
WM. Z. FOSTER emerging victorious in
dispute with JOHN GATES.

Info re: CP Labor Activity

T-29

[REDACTED]

Documentation of MAX (MAC) GORDON.

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T-30

[REDACTED]

Documentation of ERIC BERT.

b7D

T-31

CG 5824-S*

4/12/57 letter of FRED FINE re: removal
of CP office to 23 West 26th St., NYC.
Opposition to removal of CP office to
Chicago and possibility of removal to
Chicago department by department.

Selection of sub-committee on leadership.

Proposals to be made by sub-committee on
leadership.

NY 100-4931

| IDENTITY OF SOURCE | DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION |
|-----------------------|---|
|-----------------------|---|

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| T-31(continued) | <p>NC trying to find method to co-opt JACK STACHEL to that Committee.</p> <p>Recommendations to be made by sub-committee on leadership on CP officers.</p> <p>Meeting of NEC on 4/29/57.</p> <p>Letter of 6/5/57 from National Administrative Committee.</p> <p>Decision of Committee on Leadership for National Convention regarding those released from jail.</p> <p>Items to be taken up at NEC meeting on 5/22/57.</p> <p>Opposition of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT to EUGENE DENNIS as Secretary of NAC.</p> <p>CP Position re: American Forum for Socialist Unity.</p> <p>Comments of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on factionalism in CP.</p> <p>Documentation: ISADORE WOFSY, SIMON W. GERSON JOSEPH ROBERTS STEVE NELSON DAVE DAVIS WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN</p> |
|-----------------|---|

T-32
NY 1743-S*

4/5/57 memo of FRED FINE noting agenda of NC meeting on 4/27 and 28/57

3/7/57 letter of [REDACTED]
Notice of CP removal to 23 West 26th St., NYC on 4/12/57

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NY 100-4931

IDENTITY
OF SOURCE

DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR
DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION

T-33

[REDACTED]

4/5/57 letter of FRED FINE replying
to criticism of NAC minutes.

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T-34

[REDACTED]

NC meeting on 4/27 and 28/57

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T-35

[REDACTED]

EARL DURHAM spoke at Youth conference
6/26/57, in Philadelphia, Pa.

b7D

Furnished 6/5/57 letter of NAC on
developments in CP.

HY LUMER's comments re: Education
Program

T-36

[REDACTED]

On 5/14/57, CARL WINTER called by
National Conference of Communist Youth
by early Fall.

b7D

T-37

[REDACTED]

FRED FINE speech in San Francisco
on 6/25/57 on Youth situation

b7D

T-38

[REDACTED]

Remarks of GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY on 5/1/57
Greetings from "Jewish Life"

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T-39

NY 1704-S*

Re: meeting to be held 5/10/57.

Documentation of [REDACTED]

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T-40

NY 1694-S*

Comment by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER on holding
of meeting at Statler Hotel.
Statement of WM.Z. FOSTER that he was in-
structed to fight for mass movement-not Party.

NY 100-4931

| IDENTITY OF SOURCE | DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION |
|-----------------------|---|
| T-41 [redacted] | Proceedings at meeting on 5/10/57. |
| T-42 [redacted] | Proceedings at meeting on 5/10/57. |
| T-43 PH 83-S* | Info. re NEC meeting to be held on 5/23/57. |
| T-44 [redacted] | Documentation of [redacted] |
| T-45 CSNY 971-S | APLA expenditures; "Lraper Day" observances; 20th Convention APLA, with 33 delegates to attend convention. |
| T-46 [redacted] | Fund drive of "Morning Freiheit". |
| T-47 [redacted] | Yugoslav-American Communists |
| T-48 [redacted] | Info. re: Party work in Auto Industry |
| T-49 [redacted] | Info re: National Auto Commission |
| T-50 [redacted] | Info. re: National Steel Commission |
| T-51 [redacted] | Information re: activity of FRED FINE in CP labor matters. |
| T-52 [redacted] | Information re: CP Labor Committee and Electrical Commission |

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b7D

b7D

NY 100-4931

| IDENTITY OF SOURCE | DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION | |
|-----------------------|---|------------------|
| T-53 [REDACTED] | Documentation of HOSEA HUDSON | b7D |
| T-54 [REDACTED] | Documentation of [REDACTED] | b6 b7C b7D |
| T-55 [REDACTED] | Documentation of [REDACTED] | b6 b7C b7D |
| T-56 [REDACTED] | Documentation of [REDACTED] | b6 b7C b7D |
| T-57 [REDACTED] | Documentation of [REDACTED] | b6 b7C b7D |

Symbols T-4, T-11 and T-31 have been utilized for CG 5824-S* in order to better protect the identity of this source.

Careful consideration has been given to the use of T symbols and such have been used only in those instances where the source must be concealed.

Fisur on 5/10/57, was conducted by SAS DENNIS J. BARRY, Jr., ROBERT H. BERTKE, [REDACTED] and JAMES F. MITCHELL.

Fisur on 6/22/57 was conducted by SAS [REDACTED] and JAMES F. MITCHELL.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

201 East 69th Street
New York 21, New York

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

All informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent Joseph V. Waters dated New York, July 19, 1957, have furnished reliable information in the past, or were in a position to furnish reliable information.

auth/5101-80638-1007

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * * * U N I T E D S T A T E S G O V E R N M E N T

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

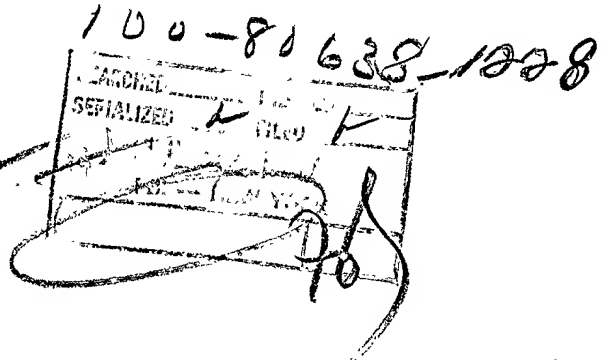
DATE: 7-22-57

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE LIMITED NUMBER OF PERSONS INVOLVED TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on July 16, 1957, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING a dictaphone memo belt, the transcription of which is located in Chicago file A/134-46-3808. The following information is contained in this transcription:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
10 - New York (REGISTERED)
 (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)
 (1 - 100-87211) (CP - USA, Factionalism) (#19)
 (1 - 100-86624) (CP - USA, International Relations) (#19)
 (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
 (1 - 100-81752) (CP - USA, Brief) (#7-2)
 (1 - 100-14606) (JOE CLARK)
 (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
 (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
 (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
 (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN) (#19)
2 - Chicago
 (1 - A/134-46-3808a)

Jek
JEK: kw
(14)



SID STEIN, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party - USA, was working on a draft of a report on organization on Sunday afternoon, July 14, 1957. He plans to deliver this report to the National Committee meeting scheduled to be held on July 27-28, 1957. He had finished the preface and the thesis of the report and was interested in obtaining suggestions and/or criticisms concerning this report.

In this report, STEIN claims a membership of 10,000 for the entire Party. He retains the thesis of the report that he made to the last meeting of the National Executive Committee. This thesis is that the Party needs to be rebuilt and that there is a need for auxiliary forms of organization.

STEIN stated that he thinks that the time has come for a showdown with the extremist forces. This showdown would be with the Leftist forces first of all, and then also with the Right wing forces, if they persist in the direction of JOE CLARK.

STEIN also stated that before a report on organization can be given, it is necessary to make clear that the Communist Party - USA will not subordinate itself to the general policies and the concrete policies of the Soviet Union. He said that we are going to reject the FOSTER thesis that we have to endorse or give a blank check to the KHRUSHCHEV leadership or any other leadership, for that matter, of the Soviet Party or any other Party.

According to STEIN, the time has come to speak frankly and to explain that our Party went on the rocks as a result of this mechanical endorsement of everything Russian. If we want to rebuild and even regain some of the lost influence, we have to do it on the basis of American circumstances and American conditions. While we may be sympathetic to the Soviet Union, we are not to give them an endorsement of everything.

In response to a suggestion for a diplomatic approach to this showdown, since the Party may not be ripe for it, STEIN said that, as far as possible, he would use the main resolution of the 16th National Convention as a platform but that there will be no compromise. He said that he is going to make the proposal that if the majority agrees with FOSTER's viewpoint or any other viewpoint except this viewpoint of the present majority of the National Executive Committee, then the new

CG 100-33741

majority ought to take over the leading posts in the Party and run the Party. He said that maybe they will run the Party into the ground, but he thinks that the present leadership cannot continue to argue and wrangle without this showdown, come what may.

STEIN also stated that he now favors the moving of the entire Party headquarters to Chicago and he hopes that it can be and will be accomplished very soon.

CG 100-33741

Comments of CG 5824-S*

SID STEIN stated that FRED FINE's opinion concerning a showdown is similar to his. He also stated that JACK STACHEL feels the same way, although STACHEL agreed with me that he would approach a showdown diplomatically, since the Party might not be ready for it. STEIN also stated that DENNIS feels the same way about a showdown but he would proceed with some caution. STEIN thinks that the majority of the National Committee will agree to this thesis of a showdown.

While STEIN may modify his report and take some of the sting out of it, the main thesis will remain -- that is, that the Communist Party - USA should not subordinate itself mechanically to the policies of the Soviet Union. If the majority of the National Committee disagrees with this thesis, those presently holding leadership positions will relinquish them.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

July 24, 1957

SAC, CHICAGO (100-20769)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
DISTRICT #2
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5821-S*, on July 16, 1957, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING a dictaphone memo belt, the transcription of which is located in Chicago file A/134-46-3810. The following information is contained in this transcription:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 3 - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, District #2, Harlem Section)
 - (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN) (#19)
- 2 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46-3810a)

JEK:kw
(7)

100-80638-1229

Water
14
W.A.
DN

CG 100-20769



SID STEIN stated during the week of July 11, 1957, that there is very little left of the Communist Party in Harlem. He said that the membership in Harlem is forty, and that this is the lowest membership figure for Harlem since the 1920's.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT


✓
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)
SUBJECT: CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS-C

DATE: 7/29/57


  who has furnished reliable information in the past, on 7/3/57, furnished photographs of documents maintained at CP National Headquarters, 23 West 26th St., NY, NY.

b7D

Included in the photographs furnished by the informant was a four page summary of a discussion by various CP functionaries on organization. When compared to information furnished by CG 5824-S* as set out in Chicago letter to Director, 7/8/57, it appears that this discussion took place at the National Executive Committee meeting held at CP Headquarters in NY on 6/22, 23/57.

The particular material furnished by  is apparently restricted to that part of the National Executive Committee meeting that dealt with SID STEIN's report on the organizational situation within the CP at the present time.

b7D

The material furnished by  on 7/3/57 is set out in full below.


b7D

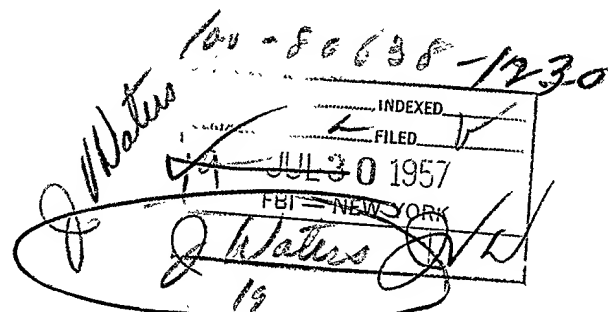
The original negatives of these photographs are maintained in NY 100-80641-1B345.

If this material is disseminated, it should be carefully paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

2 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
3 - New York (100-80641)

COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

RAD: bek
(32) 



NY 100-80641

COPIES CONTINUED

- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
 - { 1 - 100-12464 } (CP-USA ORGANIZATION)
 - { 1 - } (GEORGE A. MYERS)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
 - { 1 - 100- } (CP-USA ORGANIZATION)
 - { 1 - 100-16160 } (MIKE RUSSO)
- 3 - Chicago (RM)
 - { 1 - 100- } (CP-USA ORGANIZATION)
 - { 1 - 100-3470 } (MORRIS CHILDS)
 - { 1 - 61-867 } (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
 - { 1 - 100-17257 } (CP-USA ORGANIZATION)
 - { 1 - 100- } (HY LUMER)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
 - { 1 - 100-2050 } (CP-USA ORGANIZATION)
 - { 1 - 100-13420 } (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Minneapolis (RM)
 - { 1 - 100-1878-P } (CP-USA ORGANIZATION)
 - { 1 - 100-6379 } (CARL ROSS)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
 - { 1 - 100- } (CP-USA ORGANIZATION)
 - { 1 - 100-2975 }
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
 - { 1 - 100-31723 } (CP-USA ORGANIZATION)
 - { 1 - 100-2427 } (DAVE DAVIS)
- (13) - New York
 - { 1 - 100-80638 } (CP-USA MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
 - { 1 - 100-26603 } (CP-USA DISTRICT #2) (#19)
 - { 1 - 100-50806 } (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#12-15)

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NEW YORK COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

NY 100-80641

NEW YORK COPIES CONTINUED

(1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENIS) (#19)
(1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
(1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES)
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
(1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
(1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN)
(1 - 100-18673)
(1 - 100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
(1 - 100-80641)

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100-80641
NY ~~100-3-69~~

"Foster:

- 1) Glad that Party is getting back to work.
- 2) Sid's report is inadequate.
- 3) His proposal for fringe org. should be rejected.
- 4) We face a national problem. Sid is proposing administrative measures.
- 5) He made proposals on how to get out from present situation.
- 6) The basic way is to develop a national movement.
- 7) To carry through an ideological rehabilitation of the Party.
- 8) We must call to the attention of the Party systematically its positive achievements.
- 9) The ideal time was right after the Convention. Now we have a new opportunity as a result of the Supreme Court decisions.
- 10) Sid Says we must have an American program. Yes, but this is part though of international situations.
- 11) Considers Sid's report just dabbling, with all due respect to Sid. Nobody would be inspired by the kind of report that Sid made.

"Ben:

Have just begun to take up Party organization. George has made a report but have not discussed it as yet.

"Will W

1) feels that Sid was one-sided in emphasizing American problems as against such issues as Hungary. These issues are important for us to tackle.
We need a rounded out campaign to rebuild the morale of the Party - articles, etc. on why we are needed, why we should get support of the people, We need seminars, discussions, etc. Organizational form needs repairing, lack of political clubs, neighborhood orgs. With regard to those who waiver, we have a two-fold task - one is to give ideological defense of Hungary, Soviet Union, etc.. Without that we cannot sop waiverings. Failure to answer has torn comrades from their moorings. But we

100-80641
 NY ~~100-3-69~~

must be patient. Not administrative, but win them for our ideas. Must warn against special organizations, that Sid raised. Instead he proposes effort to rebuild regular organizations.

"Claude

Wants to discuss one point that Sid raised 'the disease of generalization.' Some comrades made general remark 'the report is no good', Instead of seeing what is positive and what is negative. Our members see us as generalizers not as solvers of concrete problems. Agrees that our moorings were shaken by events. But it would be a mistake not to see that unless we can show how each comrade can play a role. People left us for many reasons. One point is being said, that our Party is morally bankrupt. But our difficulties arise not only in mistakes of foreign policy, but also in what we did. In the report to the NC we must answer the question of what will be the method of our work now as opposed to our previous campaign method. In connection with the H bomb campaign, we must see what is the additional contribution that CP can make in the mass movement. What do we add that would not be there without us. Against calling people 'waiverers' who stuck through cold war.

"Dave D

Last night had meeting of DC with this point discussed. Key question posed by Sid why they left us has not yet been fully explored. A different kind of member left us in the past year than previously. The end of exodus has not yet been fully reached. A lot are on the fence. Insists that we don't try to give easy and quick - all ideas should be explored. Seconds the point made by Sid of creating atmosphere of living together. We still don't have a proper atmosphere.

"E. Pa. lost half of its membership prior to 1956, and 150 in last 12 months. Sid raised an important point that we have more in mass org. but less who see the need for the Party. One of the reasons is that the Party organizations do not discuss the work of these comrades in relation to our mass work. The industrial clubs stand up better. The key aspect of building anti-monopoly coalition has not been developed to the point of showing how each Party member can

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"participate in this task. Sid did pose the main problems before us. He is correct in emphasizing both the need for immediate partial answers as well as the broader ideological foundation. Is glad that we are beginning to estimate the situation concretely.

"Jim J.

Feels that many of the questions raised in report are important. Would suggest that in report we pose -

- 1) who are the people who left - from a class point of view.
- 2) what do the people on the fence want?

In his opinion no single formula will provide the answer. In the South have found that some comrades are dissatisfied because the Party is pre-occupied with problems of the Negro but neglect the problems of the white masses. In some places the comrades are dissatisfied with character of leadership.

"George W.

Sid's report opens up one of the most important discussions. Believes Sid tackled most of these questions in a positive way (or is in agreement). Have made beginnings towards rebuilding. But stark reality is that remnants of factionalism and serious crisis remain.

Losses are continuing - even after the national convention - at first these was general reaction - positive. But then, factionalism interevned - and many comrades lost confidence that decisions of the convention will be carried out. Figures....

"Carl W.

Comrade Stein presented the report in effort to get views of NEC. We should receive it in that spirit. Believes many of the points raised are valid and are borne out by the discussion. Statistics are not applicable generally - for instance, in Michigan - Our main losses was long ago - Many left because of no contact, scattered character of organization, etc.

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"In the last year had some losses, but more comparable to those of Jersey rather than those of New England. Losses are not mainly due to political differences. No more than 30 left on grounds of political differences. No losses amongst professionals. Have lost people in industry because of inability to show them how to function in this period.

Two field organizers could do much to rebuild the Party.

At the same time very important questions are being raised -

- 1) welcomed our supplement on H bomb but didn't want it around their organizations.
- 2) Group of shop workers didn't want DW supplement on 5th Amendment to be distributed. This is first reaction, later they relented somewhat.
- 3) Believes in some places auxiliary forms of organization. But auxiliary must not become substitute nor in opposition to. Otherwise it can be dangerous.
- 4) We must reestablish more respect for organization - Dues, participation, etc. Not de-emphasize, but emphasize organizational requirements.
- 5) Emphasize current issues especially economic.
- 6) Distinguish ourselves in fight for civil liberties - recognizing we are at turning point.

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- 1) Good portion of drops are industrial, but from community clubs.
 - 2) Many who dropped are those who made widest contacts.
 - 3) Reasons given are lack of confidence that we will develop independent approach - or carry out convention policy.
 - 4) Reservations as to the ability of the Party to maintain itself in the fire of differences.

Sid raised it in report. We have to work out methods.

- 5) No problem in getting comrades to accept on state level. Problems in the counties. Have solved this on basis of some comrades accepting as chairman of county committee. Some

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"comrades are carrying on despite reservations. Sid has a point when he emphasizes need for discussing in the Party concrete issues that face the people and the Party.

"Carl R.

Report was welcome, necessary and good because it laid the main problems on the table and pointed in the right direction. Believes it can be improved by making it more encompassing and balanced. Membership in Minn is the same, we have not lost. We should expand our work now. Would like to see the comrades from National Center to come out into the districts, speak from platforms to the Party and non-Party people. What does the membership expect from leadership?

- 1) We should be intimately acquainted with our membership and give leadership to our clubs.
- 2) Morale is a big problem, Not only for the Party but for every individual as well to find their way back into the mass movement. If we help them o.k., if not they will leave.
- 3) Want leadership by example participation in the work - like on the DW.
- 4) Our membership feels that Party is illegal but they want somebody to function legally, appeal for and speak for the Party.
- 5) Expect leadership to have non-Party contacts.
- 6) Comrades are confronted with important theoretical problems, on which they want help from leadership.

"George Ch

Considers Sid's report to be of the greatest importance. Considers it to be a good report - and helpful. Wishes we could end meeting with motions - though realizes report was exploratory.

What Sid said is true. To recognize the scope of the problem is not defeatist. Losses, low morale, inability to show who is in and who is out. In section after section the majority is out of the Party - and the new phenomenon - on the fence. Most of the factors for losses have been given - Would place emphasis on lack of perspective for our Party in our country. Exhortation will not do it. In this period we have had a renewal of interest in the mass movement. But in the positive desire there is the negative - lack of

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"confidence in ability of Party to give leadership. Problem of having to deny membership when active in mass organization. Believes Sid outlined the three main approaches -

- 1) How we provide a new ideological foundation based on convention decisions.
- 2) Question of atmosphere; agrees with what Sid said - something should be said about Conrade Foster who makes it difficult to re-win ---
- 3) Very strongly in favor of finding forms for consolidating the Party - and not in such careful manner as Carl.

"Hy L.

Actual resignations 18. Total of membership not fully known. Two questions -

- 1) How many have left? 2) How many remain? Would guess that membership remains intact from 1956 period.

Status of Party organization -

- a) Cleveland is functioning as well as a year ago.
- b) Outside of Cleveland, because of inadequate leadership there is breakdown, in some areas, Party ceased to function.
- c) Problem of functioning in small industrial cities is of a special character.. Security, and problem of leadership which cannot be solved from the outside.
- d) In view of the fact that not many left, special forms are not necessary.
- e) There is general drop in morale, partly due to events - partly to lack of activity -- !Let's do!
- f) Outline on housing question is part of effort to develop activity.
- g) There is the problem of resolution of ideological differences. We can't live with them indefinitely. Must find resolution and establish a common position.
- h) The resolution of differences and living together requires development of our theoretical work.

"Ben D.

The report of Comrade Morris is one of the most important. We have to give more attention to South and Latin America. On the report of Jackson, it was a thoughtful report. Many aspects he would like to think about. On Sid's report - undoubtedly the topic he raised is 'it'. It is the key point. It didn't intend to be comprehensive. His opinion is that report didn't deal with such fundamentals as -

- 1) Why do we need CP?

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NY ~~100-3-69~~

"2) Negro-white unity ---

In some respects he does not agree with Sid's approach. Identifies himself with WZF, Will W, and some of the remarks of Winter and Ross.

First we have to generate enthusiasm. Our problems have to be posed in the framework of will to rebuild otherwise the impression will be that problems is everything and Party is nothing.

Is against generalization too, but is of opinion that we must generalize experience.

Formula -

concrete - general - concrete

Lenin on opportunism. Welcomes opinions expressed by Carl Ross. Leadership by example is necessary.

"Mike R.

Thinks Sid's report was good. It did not presume to answer all the questions. Disagrees with Foster and Ben. Basic problem is whether we will really carry out the decisions of convention. Root ourselves in American political life.
working class - Internationalism - working class.

"George M.

In Maryland they face the problem of getting people together again. Because of stool-pigeon testimony. We have to find some way of tackling the problem.

"Gene D.

Sid's report was a contribution to an approach to many thorny questions we face. It was no administrative report. It was a political report. That which was one-sided needs to be developed. Does not agree with way question of Hungary was put. It is open to misinterpretation. Agrees that we don't want to tear the Party apart. Auxiliary forms of organization is a necessary problem to explore. Jim's outline is example.

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~~NY 100-3-69~~

"Jack

Is disturbed by some of the discussion. Agrees generally and basically with Sid's report and with remarks of Gene. Chastised those who have no subjective desire for unity.

"Johnny-

Party is faced with new situation and need to find new solution. Report was an important effort in that direction. Thought Sid presented a well thought out plan. Disagrees with proposition that we need grandiose plan. We need a modest and sober plan. To re-win confidence we need to greet victories and work. People who have dropped out are not hostile to the Party. They want to meet with us. Thinks that Sid gave us essentially a correct approach.

Vote - 13 for; 2 against; 1 abstention."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C320) (12-10)

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (7)

DATE: 7/22/57

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SUBJECT: CP, USA
KINGSBRIDGE
IS-C

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Source

[REDACTED]
(Protect by T symbol)

1-NY (100-131533) [REDACTED] (12-10)
[REDACTED]
1-NY (100-118144) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-100144) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-120276) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-111936) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-25821) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-69941) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-12481) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-70425) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-26603-C40) (CP Bronx Co.) (12-10)
1-NY (97-169) (DAILY WORKER) (7-2)
1-NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (12-8)
1-NY (100-4931) (CP, USA) (19)
1-NY (100-21) (MORNING FREIHEIT) (7-2)
1-NY (100-14606) (JOSEPH CLARK) (12-11)
1-NY (100-87211) (CP Factionalism) (19)
1-NY (100-97167) (Political Affairs) (7-2)
1-NY (100-50806) (GEORGE CHARNEY) (19)
1-NY (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (19)
1-NY (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (19)
1-NY (100-75829) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (7-2)
1-NY (100-74464) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-80638) (CP membership) (19)

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JPH:rmv

2(26)

100-80638-1231

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| JUL 23 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

#11

MEMO
NY 100-26603-C320

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Reliability | Who has furnished reliable information in the past |
| Date of Activity | 6/19/57 |
| Date Received | 7/3/57 |
| Received by | SA [redacted] |
| Location | [redacted] |

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The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

By report dated 6/24/57, [redacted] furnished information concerning a meeting of the Section Committee of the Northwest Bronx Section of the CP held 6/19/57.

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The following is the report of [redacted]:

| | | |
|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| <u>Report</u> | <u>Communist Party U.S.A.</u> | June 24, 1957 |
| | <u>Activities.</u> | New York |

A meeting of the Section Committee of the Northwest Bronx Section of the Communist Party was held on June 19th, 1957 at [redacted] at the house (private house, 2nd floor) of [redacted] (I believe their second name is [redacted])

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The following were among those present at this meeting: [redacted]

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MEMO

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unidentified woman from the Moshulu area: White; dark hair, graying; about 35 years old; darkish complexion.

The meeting was chaired by []

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[] made two short reports.

One report was on the first meeting of the Bronx County board of the C.P. He said that to this County board meeting came 12 members. There were "some discussions" on how the County board should function but there was no definite decision reached on this point. There was a "general agreement but no decision was made "that the Section Committees should decided on the general activities of their Sections "under the the directions of the County board." No agreement was reached on the questions of a chairman and secretary of the County board. The majority opinion was that that "there should be a board Secretariat consisting of a Secretary of labor, organization, press, education etc." [] said that the meeting adjourned without reaching any definite decisions on any points. It was decided to call another "full meeting" of the county board for the "near future and I hope that at the second meeting of the board we will reach some definite decisions on the functions of the board."

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A short discussion developed on this report of []

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Most of those who participated in the discussion expressed the opinion that the first meeting (after the conventions) of the Bronx County board "reflects the indecisiveness and disorganizations in the party today."

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NY 100-26603-C320

[] underlined that this disorganization is more noticable in the higher Committees of the party than among the rank-and-file members and "if the party will ever start functioning again it will be because of the initiative of the party membership. It seems to me that the party leadership is to busy with such important things as who is to be what."

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[] underlined that every C.P. was "hit" by the Khrushchev revelations but "the other Communist parties, Italy, France, England almost recovered from the shock. Only our party is still in the dumps. This is because the other parties have an able leadership. The leadership of our party always was and still remains weak and this is the main reason why our party is still cropping in the dark."

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The second report made by [] was about the Daily Worker.

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He said that he attended a meeting which was held during the afternoon of June 19th. It was an "emergency" meeting. Some 35 people were present at this meeting. Two reports on the Daily Worker were made at this meeting. Jack Stachel reported for the National Committee (C.P.)

[] said: It seems that there were talks in some party circles to publish only a week-end edition-The Worker. The National Committee is against it. We most have a daily or no paper at all.

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The Daily Worker must have from now on \$10,000 until the fund drive of \$100,000 is reached. The

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C320

Morning Freiheit almost concluded its \$200,000 fund drive and must have from now on \$5,000 a week. There must be a concentration campaign on getting all renewals and new subs for The Worker and the Daily Worker.

Jack stated in his report that the National Committee keeps on getting hundred of complains, especially from industrial section from all over the country, about the policies of the Daily Worker. 'The Daily Worker,' Jack said, 'does not reflect the opinion of the National Committee,' which demands drastic changes in the policy of the paper.

[] said that Special criticism was made on the writings of the columnists of the Daily Worker. The National Comm. report singled out for strong criticism one name only; that of Joseph Clark. of the \$100,000 fund drive New York will have to raise \$75,000. The industrial section of the party pledged to raise \$25,000. ("The industrial Section used to raise 3 times as much in previous fund drives")

[] said: "Not all of the \$100,000 fund drive will go to the Daily Worker - it was disclosed at this meeting. Only the Bronx quota of \$8,000 will go in full to the Daily Worker."

[] stated that "most of the report of the National Committee on the Daily Worker will be published in the P.A. for the discussion by the party membership."

George Charney's report on the Daily Worker, [] said, was in agreement with the report of the National Committee that we must have a daily newspaper. George was also in agreement on the raising of funds, etc. He disagreed

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MEMO

NY 100-26603-C320

with the political part of the report of the National Committee claiming that the Daily Worker is correct by reflecting the different political opinions which are now existing in the party. Ben Davis spoke against Charney's report. During the discussions on this report [] said that the Daily Worker is not the organ of the National Committee and therefore has no right to suppress opinions of Columnists who sign their names to the articles. [] disagreed on this claiming that the right wingers took over the paper; that the majority of the party's membership is against the Johnny Gates-Joseph Clark political line and that "there is no place for such writings as that of [] (an article in which [] criticized the book on Hungary written by Herbert Aptheker) who tried his best to compromise the Soviet Union. [] said that "We keep up our paper and we have a right to demand that the Daily Worker should be the spokesman of Marxism-Leninism and not of the Journal-American." [] were of the same opinion as []

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There were reports from the 3 areas of the Northwest Bronx Section in connection with the "summer reorganization."

The "unidentified woman" reported that the Moshulu area will merge all the clubs; that a preliminary survey shows that "maybe" 20-25 will be in the city, on and off, during the summer and that this area will try to meet as often as possible; will try to collect funds for the fund drive and will organize discussions of the resolutions which were adopted at the National Convention (C.P.) Mary gave an identical report about the Van Cortlandt area. She claimed that her area will also have about 20 members during the summer in New York.

MEMO

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[] reported that the first meeting of the merged clubs of the Kingsbridge area will be held on the 25th and that after this meeting he will have a better picture of the situation in this area. He said that one member of his club, [] gave \$300 to the Daily Worker and that he pledged \$100 more which raises his quota in the fund drive to \$400. On Al's question of how many members the Section has now, it was roughly estimated that the Northwest Section has now a membership of a little over 100.

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It was decided that the 3 areas should hold their merged club meetings before the next meeting of the Section Committee and that each area should try to raise funds for the fund drive and to make a "more or less" detailed report on the size of the membership in each area, participation in the meetings, on renewals for The Worker and Daily Worker.

The next meeting of the Northwest Section Committee C.P. will be held on July 2nd, 1957 at 3136 Perry Ave., Bronx, N.Y. at the apartment of []

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J. MORRIS

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (65-645)

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP

DATE: 7-23-57

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On June 19, 1957, [REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally furnished SA [REDACTED] a typewritten report concerning a regular branch meeting of the Chicago SWP held at its headquarters, 777 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois, on Sunday, June 16, 1957. Informant's report is being maintained as an exhibit in [REDACTED]

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2 - Los Angeles (RM)
1 - 100-17375 (SWP)
1 - 100- [REDACTED]

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3 - Cleveland (RM)
1 - 100-1012 (SWP)
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100- [REDACTED]

2 - Minneapolis (RM)
1 - 100-1246 (SWP)
1 - 100- [REDACTED]

⑥ - New York (RM)
① - 100-4013 (SWP)

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1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100- [REDACTED]

1 - 100- [REDACTED]
Photostat following
1 - 100 - FNU [REDACTED] (7-6)
1 - 100 - CPUSA, membership (#9)

19- Chicago

1 - 100-22487 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-30028 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-22783 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-17992 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-30637 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-18038 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-23465 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-24707 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-21584 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-19416 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-31614 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-24606 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-21656 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-22765 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-22840 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-30839 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-33684 [REDACTED]

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CG 65-645

There were 15 members of the Chicago SWP present at this meeting which were as follows:



[redacted] was chairman of the meeting and [redacted] took the minutes.

After the reading of the minutes which were approved, [redacted] read correspondence which consisted of two letters. The first was from [redacted] in New York and concerned a report received by him from a comrade "S" who reportedly was either a Communist Party (CP) member or sympathizer. Comrade "S" reported that the CP section convention was attended by only 70 members where formerly there were 140. He stated that another meeting held which usually had an attendance of 35 now only had 14 in attendance. He stated that more than two-thirds have dropped out of the CP. He said that the CP was disintegrating at an accelerated pace and was now being run on a electoral basis rather than a functional basis.

Comrade "S" reportedly was an executive secretary of the CP and had been assigned the job of checking on comrades who had dropped out or in the process of dropping out. Another CP member named [redacted] was also mentioned in the correspondence. The CP planned to have [redacted] cover the waterfront section in New York but changed their minds and were sending him to Los Angeles, California, as sort of a "hatchet man".

CG 65-645

The second letter was from a comrade "T.T." He reported on the Socialist Democrat Federation (SDF). "T.T." stated that the SDF was 30 years behind in their intellectuality. "T.T." also stated that there was dissension in this club and that three prominent members had been expelled, two of which were men named [redacted] and [redacted]. "T.T." reported that there was room for regroupment in this organization. This letter also identified [redacted] and [redacted] as also being SDF members.

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[redacted] gave the literature report during which she reported that she had sold 30 "Militants" to the Washington Park Forum on Sunday afternoon. She also stated that she had sold 10 "Militants" at a meeting at the Y.M.C.A. at 50th and Indiana Avenue where one [redacted] spoke. She stated that [redacted] sold 6 copies at an Armour Company union meeting on Thursday night. [redacted] inquired if any of the comrades could sell at the meeting at the Midwest Hotel on Monday afternoon. Four comrades volunteered to participate in this sale which included [redacted] and [redacted].

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[redacted] made announcements concerning a forum which would present [redacted] speaking concerning the atomic fallout. [redacted] said that he planned to see the members of a H-bomb protest group at the University of Chicago about a speaker on Monday night so that he would be able to let the branch know well enough in advance to prepare leaflets. [redacted] is a member of this club.

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[redacted] reported concerning a social plan for June 22, and urged all the comrades to attend. He also announced that it had been decided that for the SWP picnic each comrade bring a main dish to the affair.

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[redacted] gave the good and welfare report and asked for donations for food for the Saturday social affair.

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[redacted] gave the Organizer's report and stated that a full time organizer for the Chicago Branch SWP had been approved by the national office. He stated that this would begin as soon as possible.

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An intermission was held for the payment of dues which was followed by brief reports by [] and [] concerning some of the intimate aspects of the recent SWP national convention. This consisted merely of the procedure and the schedule of the convention.

[] served on the Nominating Commission and explained how they proceeded in nominating the national committee members and alternates. He said that the three places open on the national committee this year were filled by [] of Los Angeles. The alternate member elected from Chicago was [] and [] as a subsidiary. [] stated that [] was considered more of a Chicago member than a New York member as he was here almost to the time of the convention.

[] also stated that there was a race for nomination to the NC between [] and [] but that [] eventually won the spot. Other names mentioned in connection with this report by [] also included [], the New York Branch Organizer, and []

It was announced at this meeting that [] was on vacation and that the other comrades should notify the Organizer whenever he was certain as to the time he would be on vacation.

Informant also reported that around June 12 or 13, a comrade by the name of [] came to Chicago, covering a conference with steel comrades. This discussion dealt with a national basis. [] was reportedly somewhere from Ohio.

8/3/57

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-25239)

CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
IS-C
CIVIL

[redacted] on 7/31/57, advised that [redacted] is the member of the CP Building Section on 7/30/57 at which time he reported that SIO HARRIS, at a recent National Committee meeting at New York, stated that the CP membership has declined from approximately 27,000 to approximately 10,000 and that the decline in membership is continuing.

DISSEMINATION: [redacted] 7/30/57; received 7/31/57 by SA
WILLIAM H. JAMESON - Sliced in [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (AM-RECS)
- 1 - Los Angeles (AM-RECS)
- 1 - San Diego (AM-RECS)
- 1 - Baltimore (AM-RECS)
- ① - New York (AM-RECS)
- 1 - San Francisco (1 - 100-25239)
(1 - 100-31228 - CIVIL)

WILLIAM H. JAMESON
(9)

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
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SEC. 11
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SEC. 17
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SEC. 19
SEC. 20

SEC. 13-0
SEC. 20

100-25239-1
b7D

100-80638-1233

W. J. Waters
19-1
FEB 19 1958
NEW YORK
Waters

reaction
AS

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, PORTLAND (100-3952-Sub 14)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
IS-C

DATE: 8/1/57

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU UNLESS IT IS SUITABLY PARAPHRASED AND THE INFORMANT'S IDENTITY SHOULD NOT BE DISCLOSED THROUGH ANY LOCALITY OR ACTIVITY. CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT. THE BUREAU HAS INSTRUCTED THAT, IN SUBMITTING EXTENSIVE INFORMATION IN REPORT FORM, MATERIAL FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] IT MAY BE DESIRABLE TO USE TWO OR MORE SYMBOL NUMBERS. BUREAU AUTHORITY, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE REQUESTED BEFORE SUCH IS DONE.

b7D

Following synopsis of activities relating to meeting of CP National Committee (NC) in New York 7/27-28/57 provided by [REDACTED] 7/31/57 to SA [REDACTED]

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On the night of Friday, 7/26/57, farm committee of CP met in state office conference room at building housing CP National Headquarters, 23 W. 26th Avenue, New York City, chaired by CARL ROSS. A report was given on a resolution that some members of farm committee previously had considered together with representatives of NEC and NAC. Out of conference 7/26/57 came a resolution to be brought before the NC. Resolution concerned means of tying labor in with agriculture for furthering work aimed at bettering conditions for all.

5-Bureau (100-3-69) (AM) (RM)

11-New York (AM) (RM)

1-100- (FARMERS' MATTERS)

1-100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)

1-100-50090 (SID STEIN) (#19)

1-100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)

1-100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (#19)

1-100-14606 (JOE CLARK) (#12-11)

1-100- (DAILY WORKER)

1-100- (MEMBERSHIP)

1-100-92763 (PETTIS-PERRY) (#7-6)

1-100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#7-6)

1-100-80641 (ORGANIZATION)

JAB:jdt
(22)

1-Memphis (MARY) (RM)

1-Minneapolis (RM)
(CARL ROSS)

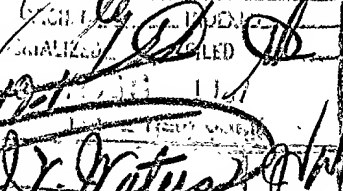
1-Newark (RM)

100-19491 (PATRICK TOOHEY)

1-Knoxville (RM)

2-Portland

1-100-3952-Sub 14 (ORG.) b7D



Resolution pointed out that rank and file members of CP should take up problems of farmers and should work within farm groups--particularly in Farmers' Union. All NC members on farm committee are to actively concern selves with Farmers' Union conferences to be held this fall although noted some already have been held. Each member of farm committee was urged to closely follow and promote this program. The resolution as adopted at farm committee meeting was approved and referred to NC for approval.

On Saturday morning, 7/27/57, the CP NC met at Yugoslav Hall, between 9th and 10th Avenue on W. 41st Street. Most of day devoted to reports being given by NC members relating to activities and methods of operation in carrying forward CP programs which were set down in 16th National CP Convention. Entire proceedings first day of NC meeting described as harmonious with no indication of opposition to new CP program, tension, or factionalism.

On Sunday, 7/28/57, NC met at same hall between 10:30 and 11:00 a.m. SID STEIN of National CP Office opened meeting with full report on CP program or plan of work as drawn up by NEC and NAC. After discussion, the plan of work as outlined by STEIN was unanimously approved and adopted by the full NC. During discussion, some weaknesses were noted which STEIN acknowledged and are to be corrected. Discussion described as constructive with no indication of dissension or opposition.

Afternoon session on 7/28/57 opened with granting of special requests to speak by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and JOHN GATES.

GATES spoke at length on controversy involving JOE CLARK, foreign editor of Daily Worker (DW), whose policies in his writings were much opposed by some CP leaders, particularly by FOSTER. GATES opposed removal of CLARK from position and sharply denounced FOSTER, accusing FOSTER of being a "head chopper", that is removing those who opposed him. GATES stated if CLARK were removed he, GATES, would "quit", not indicating whether he meant resigning as editor of DW, resigning from CP, or both.

FOSTER answered GATES' charges, accusing GATES of deviation from Party line in an organized manner, and likewise bitterly denounced GATES. At this point pandemonium developed with several persons taking the floor and others attempting to gain recognition by the chair. Ultimately several alternatives as to future of CLARK with DW were voted upon. Result was that CLARK was not voted out of DW. However, some restrictions may be placed upon his future operations in his position.

According to [] during NC meeting on policy questions, membership losses of Party throughout Country were discussed. Much stress was placed upon heavy losses sustained running into hundreds. NC members were urged by Party leaders to stress to their district CP leaders urgent need for program aimed at gaining back into Party as many former CP members as possible.

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Some discussion was had concerning continued shortage of funds for operation of DW, which described as continuing to operate at loss. According to [] PETTIS PERRY and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, among others, were welcomed as added members of NC. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN spoke briefly in a light vein and upon introduction was given standing ovation, she being only recently returned CP member from prison to receive such acknowledgment during meeting. In her remarks she and PETTIS PERRY referred to their status as NC members.

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Among NC members in attendance at NC meeting was one [], a tall, slender Negro, around 55 years of age, whose hair turning gray on sides. He chaired morning session on 7/28/57, and he was referred to as being from the South. A woman in her 40's, white race, reddish-blond hair, long-slender face, no glasses, about medium height and build, also in attendance at NC meeting, who used name [], which admittedly not her true name. She stated she came from Tennessee, the definite impression being left she was a delegate from that state. From her accent, she sounded as though she had spent some time in New York in the past.

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The closing session of NC was devoted to reports by national appeals committee of CP relative to various cases involving CP members in which disciplinary action taken against

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them by CP. Several cases were reported on in detail. One case so discussed pertained to eighteen former CP members in New Jersey. Details were provided at the meeting concerning case by PAT TOOBY. No action was taken by NC on cases discussed other than to refer them back to appeals committee for further consideration and attention.

° Separate communication outlining detailed information concerning various phases of meeting will be submitted as rapidly as reports can be prepared by informant based upon voluminous notes.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 8-5-57 ~~4~~ u

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 5824-S*, on July 30, 1957, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING fourteen dictaphone memo belts describing the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA, held in New York City on July 27 and 28, 1957. The transcription of these memo belts is being maintained in Chicago file A/134-46-3827. The information on the following pages is contained in this transcription. ~~4~~

In order to reduce the number of copies of this letter, in some instances only one copy of this letter was designated for a sub-file of the Communist Party, such as Organization, for a particular field division. In some instances, information pertaining to another sub-file of the Communist Party, such as Membership, may be involved in a particular field division. In all instances, copies have been designated for files of individuals present at or mentioned at this meeting. Copies have also been designated for all pertinent sub-files of the Communist Party in the New York Division. ~~4~~

- 2 - Bureau (Enclosure 1)(REGISTERED)
- 2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-12464)(CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-) (GEORGE A. MEYERS)
- 2 - Birmingham (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-) (HOSEA HUDSON)
- 2 - Boston (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-20779)(CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-16160)(MICHAEL A. RUSSO)
- 2 - Butte (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-5350)()
- 1 - Cincinnati (100-) (CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

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See ii through v pages for copies.

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Waters

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4-1
[Handwritten initials and signatures]

CG 100-33741

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- 4 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-17257)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-)
(1 - 65-721)(ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
(1 - 100-4212)(HYMAN LUMER)
- 2 - Denver (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-2411)
- 6 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-2050)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-6075)(Cominfil - UAW)
(1 - 100-8482)(THOMAS DENNIS)
(1 - 100-945)(NAT GANLEY)
(1 - 100-13420)(CARL WINTER)
(1 - 100-13470)(HELEN WINTER)
- 2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-11093)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-9529)(EMANUEL BLUM)
- 6 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-26044)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-52571)
(1 - 100-4486)(DOROTHY HEALEY CONNELLY)
(1 - 100-4663)(BEN DOBBS)
(1 - 100-)
(1 - 100-23700)
- 2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-42-I)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-11125)
- 3 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-1878-P)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-6379)(CARL ROSS)
(1 - 61-29)
- 1 - Mobile (100-) (CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)
- 3 - Newark (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-4284)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-2974)
(1 - 100-) (PATRICK TOOHEY)
- 2 - New Haven (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-1873)
- 54 - New York (Enclosure 1)(REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-80641)(CP - USA, Organization)(#19)
(1 - 100-81752)(CP - USA, Brief)(#7-2)
(1 - 100-89691)(CP - USA, Domestic Administration Issues)(#19)

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(1 - 100-80633)(CP - USA, Education)(#19)
(1 - 100-87211)(CP - USA, Factionalism)(#19)
(1 - 100-80634)(CP - USA, Farmers Matters)(#19)
(1 - 100-74560)(CP - USA, Funds)(#19)
(1 - 100-86624)(CP - USA, International Relations)(#19)
(1 - 100-80636)(CP - USA, Legislative Activities)(#19)
(1 - 100-80638)(CP - USA, Membership)(#19)
(1 - 100-54651)(CP - USA, National Groups Commission)(#19)
(1 - 100-80640)(CP - USA, Negro Question)(#19)
(1 - 100-81675)(CP - USA, Pamphlets & Publications)(#19)
(1 - 100-89590)(CP - USA, Strategy in Industry)(#19)
(1 - 100-80644)(CP - USA, Youth Matters)(#19)
(1 - 100-26603)(CP - USA, District #2)(#12-14)
(1 - 97-169)(Publishers New Press)(#7-2)
(1 - 65-5604)(WILLIAM ALBERTSON)(#12-11)
(1 - 100-80532)(HERBERT APTHEKER)(#20-11)
(1 - 100-13923)(#19)
(1 - 100-9493)(ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN)
(1 - 100-9984)(AL BLUMBERG)(#19)
(1 - 100-14606)(JOSEPH CLARK)(#20-11)
(1 - 100-23825)(BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.)(#19)
(1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19)
(1 - 100-110840)(EARL DURHAM)(#19)
(1 - 100-87561)(#19)
(1 - 100-89816)(FRED FINE)(#19)
(1 - 100-1696)(ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(#19)
(1 - 100-9365)(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(#19)
(1 - 100-75829)(#19)
(1 - 100-49149)(#19)
(1 - 100-17923)(JOHN GATES)(#19)
(1 - 100-13472)(GIL GREEN)
(1 - 100-)
(1 - 100-13473)(SIMON W. GERSON)(#19)
(1 - 100-81495)(#19)
(1 - 100-)
(1 - 100-52959)(HOSEA HUDSON)
(1 - 100-9352)(#12-14)
(1 - 100-79025)(#12-14)
(1 - 100-13203)(#12-14)
(1 - 100-92763)(PETTIS PERRY)
(1 - 100-48033)(IRVING POTASH)
(1 - 100-13336)(#12-15)
(1 - 100-)
(1 - 100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(#19)

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- (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN) (#19)
- (1 - 100-85788) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON)
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#20-13)
- (1 - 100-62509) (DOXEY WILKERSON) (#12-11)
- (1 - 100-269) [REDACTED] (#7-1)
- 2 - Norfolk (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (LNU)
- 5 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-31723) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-2427) (DAVID DAVIS)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 65-1686) (THOMAS NABRIED)
 - (1 - 100-38020) [REDACTED]
- 2 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-1763) (STEVE NELSON)
- 2 - Portland (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- 2 - Richmond (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (LNU)
- 3 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-27747) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA)
 - (1 - 61-415) (AL RICHMOND)
- 3 - Seattle (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (Labor Youth League)
 - (1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (BURT GALE NELSON)
- 14 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46-3827a)
 - (1 - 100-18953) (CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-7441) (Cominfil - UAW)
 - (1 - 100-30509) (Cominfil - American Friends Service Committee)
 - (1 - 100-24729) (EMANUEL BLUM)
 - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
 - (1 - 100-26547) [REDACTED]
 - (1 - 100-18001) (FRED FINE)
 - (1 - 100-12459) (FLO HALL)
 - (1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)

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(1 - 61-867)(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
(1 - 100-18457)
(1 - 100-2749)

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-14-2011

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Time, Type and Place of Meeting

A meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA was held in the Yugoslav Hall, 41st Street and 9th Avenue, New York City, on Saturday, July 27, 1957, and Sunday, July 28, 1957. The sessions were held in what is called the Main Hall. Except for the organizational proposals and some matters which were expunged from the record, a tape recording was made of most of the reports and the speeches. EARL DURHAM was in charge of the tape recorder. The tapes will probably be turned over to the Secretaries so that they can type the reports.

Persons in Attendance

The following members of the National Committee were in attendance at this meeting:

Members-At-Large

[redacted] who arrived late on Saturday evening:
BEN DAVIS
DAVE DAVIS
EUGENE DENNIS
EARL DURHAM
FRED FINE
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
JOHN GATES
DOROTHY HEALEY

[redacted]
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[redacted]
PETTIS PERRY (added to the National Committee at this meeting)

AL RICHMOND

[redacted]
JACK STACHEL (added to the National Committee at this meeting)

SIDNEY STEIN

ROBERT THOMPSON (added to the National Committee at this meeting)

DOXEY WILKERSON
CARL WINTER

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National Committee Members-At-Large
Who Were Not Present

The following members-at-large of the National Committee
were not present for this meeting:

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY
JAMES JACKSON

Other National Committee Members Present

New Jersey

[REDACTED]
PAT TOOHEY

Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware

JOSEPH ROBERTS
THOMAS NABRIED

Michigan

NAT GANLEY
TOM DENNIS

Ohio

HY LUMER
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

South

HOSEA HUDSON, representing Alabama
[REDACTED] (LNU), a white woman in her early 40's, who
represented Virginia

New England

MICHAEL RUSSO

Western Pennsylvania

STEVE NELSON

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Maryland

GEORGE A. MEYERS

Indiana

EMANUEL BLUM

Wisconsin

[REDACTED]

Minnesota

[REDACTED]

Connecticut

[REDACTED]

Oregon

[REDACTED]

Washington

BURT NELSON

Southern California

[REDACTED]

BEN DOBBS

Northern California

MICKEY LIMA

Illinois

RALPH TURNER
FLO HALL
SAM KUSHNER

[REDACTED]

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New York

[REDACTED]
SIMON GERSON
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

[REDACTED] (Present Sunday only)

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National Committee Members from the
Districts who Were Absent

Among the known National Committee members, representing
the Districts, who were absent are the following:

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, of California
JESUS COLON, of New York
[REDACTED] New York
[REDACTED] of New York
[REDACTED] of New York

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New York has not elected all eleven of the National Com-
mittee members to which it is entitled.

Invitees

A number of persons were invited to this National Com-
mittee meeting. These persons are not members of the National
Committee. A motion by SID STEIN, made on the insistence of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], was passed unanimously. This motion was that a decision
of the National Administrative Committee to invite these persons
be endorsed. The invitees present were as follows:

BILL ALBERTSON
ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN
AL BLUMBERG
[REDACTED]
MORRIS CHILDS
[REDACTED]
HELEN WINTER

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These persons were permitted to participate in the meet-
ing. Some of them took the floor during the discussion periods and
others made reports; however, not all of them availed themselves of
the opportunity to participate in the proceedings.

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Other Persons Present

Three other persons were present in more or less technical capacities. There were not permitted to participate in the meeting. These persons were [redacted] who recorded some of the motions, and [redacted] is working on the new Party "Discussion Bulletin" in a technical capacity and sat with [redacted].

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MORNING SESSION OF SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1957

The meeting opened at 10:30 A.M. on Saturday, July 27, 1957. The first Chairman was DOROTHY HEALEY, of California.

Agenda

SID STEIN, in behalf of the National Executive Committee, proposed the following agenda:

- (1) A report on the international situation and the fight to outlaw H-Bomb tests, to be given by EUGENE DENNIS.
- (2) A report on the organizational status of the Communist Party - USA and the rebuilding of the Party, this report to be given by SID STEIN. A sub-report on the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker", to be given by JACK STACHEL. This report to be considered a part of Point #2.
- (3) A draft editorial on the recent shake-up in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This editorial to appear in the August issue of "Political Affairs". (One photostat copy of this item is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and New York. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-33729-1A6. The document is entitled, "On The Actions of the Central Committee of the CPSU".)
- (4) Miscellaneous items, including a report from the National Appeals Committee and organizational additions to the national leadership.

The supporters of the Left wanted the "Daily Worker" to be discussed as a separate point and not to be considered a

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sub-report of Point #2 on organization. A motion to this effect was defeated and this report remained a sub-point of the second point on the agenda. ~~X~~

Eulogy of JIM FORD ~~X~~

The meeting opened with BEN DAVIS delivering a eulogy of JIM FORD. ~~X~~

Motion to Seat Non-Members of the National Committee ~~X~~

As mentioned previously, SID STEIN, at the insistence of HELEN WINTER, made a motion to seat the non-members of the National Committee. HELEN WINTER stated to STEIN that she has problems with regard to the National Committee members from Michigan and did not want to be considered an interloper. This motion was passed unanimously. ~~X~~

Report of EUGENE DENNIS on the International Situation and the Fight to Outlaw H-Bomb Tests ~~X~~

EUGENE DENNIS made the first report. He talked about the need to expand the gigantic, mass effort to stop the H-Bomb tests. He stated that the last meeting of the National Committee was held right after the adoption of the EISENHOWER Doctrine. The EISENHOWER Doctrine in the Mediterranean was that policy calling for brazen interference in the internal affairs of Jordan and other countries in that area. DENNIS recalled General NORSTRAND's statement on the use of atomic weapons in Europe and the supplying of the atomic weapons to the NATO countries, including West Germany. He also recalled that the United States had refused Japan's suggestion that it stop H-Bomb tests. ~~X~~

DENNIS went on to talk about the present London Disarmament Conference. He emphasized that the United States has been carrying through the policies of DULLES, RADFORD and STRAUSS, calling for a turndown of even partial disarmament. He pointed out that the United States brazenly re-armed South Korea and broke the truce. He drew the conclusion that the war danger continues but that the main international trend is for peace. ~~X~~

According to DENNIS, the peace camp is led by the countries of Socialism -- that is, the Soviet Union primarily,

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then China and others. The co-operation of the Bandung nations has made the camp of peace much stronger. They are compelling the imperialist nations to accept, even if reluctantly, the idea of peaceful co-existence. ~~X~~

Then DENNIS stated that the so-called allies of the United States nullified the American ban on trade with China. He said that Britain and Japan are doing this. He also stated that the peaceful countries and the Soviet Union are breaking the monopoly of the United States in the Mediterranean. ~~X~~

The events in the USSR occurring at the present time are influencing the course of peace. What took place in the Soviet Union reinforces the policy of peaceful co-existence. He said that the United States is trying to increase tensions everywhere. He cited as examples of defeats for the United States State Department the fact that Indonesia has weathered a number of coups, and that in Nigeria, in Algeria, in Syria and in Egypt the maneuvers of the State Department were defeated. ~~X~~

DENNIS then said that the fight taking place in this country to outlaw the A and H-Bomb tests is being reflected in foreign policy struggles. As an example, it is reflected in the fact that some leading Democrats have asked for a new look in regard to the relation of the United States to the Socialist countries. In this regard, he mentioned Senators MIKE MANSFIELD, WARREN MAGNUSON and others. He said that there is also a struggle in the EISENHOWER Administration in regard to foreign policy and disarmament. He said that there are differences between the STASSEN group and the DULLES group concerning the London Disarmament Conference. He stated that STASSEN has said that partial agreement is possible. Secretary of the Treasury HUMPHREY represents the interests of the Midwest capital, while DULLES represents chiefly the oil and financial interests, as well as the cartels in Western Germany. ~~X~~

Continuing, DENNIS stated that it is these economic interests which are clashing with each other. He stated that the Rockefeller Chase National Bank is pro-DULLES. It controls most of the oil in the Middle East and other places. This group is arrogant in pushing its aggressive policy and the IKE Doctrine. He said that the STASSEN policy is more flexible and is more responsive to the peace desires and pressures of the people. Regardless of how this inner administration fight turns out, we know that when

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the DULLES crowd drives to the brink, it is usually stopped by the pressures of the other side and the people. Then there is a lessening of tension. ~~X~~

DULLES, according to DENNIS, goes on to create new tensions. This is done because the trusts and the monopolies, which DULLES represents, are afraid to lose the armament profits; however, even the DULLES crowd vacillates under pressures. Thus, the situation can be altered as the peace movement grows and expands. Right now there is such a movement unfolding in the United States. It is a movement which wants to stop the tests of the H-Bomb and to stop the use of nuclear weapons in a future war. He stated that the Gallop polls show that the majority of the people, 63% as compared to a smaller percentage some time ago, wants to ban the tests of the H-Bomb. ~~X~~

DENNIS went on to talk about the dangers of the fallouts, particularly in the temperate zone. He said that this has aroused tens of millions of Americans who are afraid of peacetime annihilation. He said that this has also aroused such prominent people as Dr. SCHWEITZER and many scientists, both in this country and abroad. DENNIS stated that the DULLES-RADFORD-STRAUSS crowd's boggy about Soviet aggression is falling on deaf ears and the people are learning through experience that this crowd is only shouting to defend the interests of the armament trusts. He said that the movement to stop H-Bomb tests is mushrooming and is developing on a nation-wide scale. It consists of churchmen, pacifists, scientists and now even certain sections of labor. He stated, We should take particular note of the activity of the scientists, the Quakers and the churchmen's crusade against the H-Bomb. He stated that this organized activity is uneven from state to state. In some states, it is highly developed, while in some states there is very little activity. ~~X~~

Next DENNIS described the petitions of the American Friends Service Committee and the petitions of the scientists. He pointed out that a half million people have signed these petitions or similar petitions. Hundreds of thousands of letters have been sent to the President. He said that there are instances where resolutions have been introduced in state legislatures asking for the halt of the tests. He cited as one example the state of Washington. He stated that in some instances there is a demand for local actions; for example, that the City Council or the state legislature pass laws demanding the testing of food, milk, cereals, etc., which are contaminated by the fallout. ~~X~~

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Next DENNIS stated that he thinks that there ought to be a demand, and there are such demands, for universal treaties. He said some organizations are demanding not only the outlawing of the bomb, but also the stopping of the stock-piling of nuclear weapons. He stated that the movement in the United States does not yet compare to the movement against nuclear weapons in Britain, India and Japan. Nevertheless, there is a real potent movement in this country. He said that he thinks that this movement is potent enough to keep the London Disarmament Conference in session. He stated that even the Democratic Party command is compelled to pay attention to the October, 1956, policy of ADLAI STEVENSON in regard to the tests and the fallouts. &

Then he said that to develop this movement it is necessary to: (1) Pay more attention to the unfolding of protests on a local basis. In this regard, he referred to the proposals in a letter sent to all Districts in June, 1957. He stated that this letter was signed by him. (2) That women and mothers should be in the forefront of such a movement. Yet, the largest women's organizations have not yet been mobilized. (3) That the main mass organizations of the Negro people should be involved. (4) Up to the present time, labor has been disinclined to go along with this movement. GEORGE MEANY has been trying to elicit labor on the DULLES-RADFORD-STRAUSS side, but lately there are promises of new developments since some labor leaders have come out openly as advocates of peace. What ought to be done in the labor movement is to combine the fight for the outlawing of the H-Bomb or the H-Bomb tests with a drive for tax reductions and for higher wages in order to show how the working class can profit economically from such a banning of the bomb. (5) That the mass movement demanding the outlawing of nuclear tests be linked with the fight for a general disarmament. He said that it is necessary to put pressure on Washington, since Washington has been resisting disarmament and is trying to tie up German reunification with disarmament in order to make disarmament impossible. &

Then DENNIS discussed the Hague Convention Covenant of 1925. He said, We ought to popularize this covenant which deals with the outlawing of gas and bacterial warfare. The Soviet Union ratified this treaty. Even though the United States Senate did not ratify this covenant, gas was never used in World War II. It is important to popularize this covenant because this covenant does not contain any means of control. It does not require the establishing of testing stations. Yet, the moral climate of the

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world prevented the use of gas and bacteriological methods in World War II. ~~X~~

Continuing, DENNIS stated that the principles in the Hague Covenant can be used for the outlawing of the A and H weapons. ~~X~~

Next DENNIS stated that what is necessary is an ideological offensive to expose the exponents of the so-called "clean" bomb. He quoted from a statement by the French high commissioner in charge of atomic energy, who said that the statements about a "clean" bomb are shocking statements because mass destruction of life would result in any case. It would not diminish the danger of an atomic war nor would it diminish the destruction of the people or civilization. ~~X~~

According to DENNIS, the DULLES-RADFORD idea that these nuclear weapons are supposed to be deterrents against war is just not so. He emphasized that the only real deterrent against war is peaceful co-existence. He said that peaceful co-existence is the cardinal thing. RADFORD's statement that you cannot trust the Russians should be answered with the statement that the American people cannot trust the ADENAUERS, the CHIANG-KAI-SHEKS, the SIGMUND RHEES and the others with the use of such weapons because their use of such weapons may lead the world to destruction and will lead to the destruction of the American people. ~~X~~

DENNIS went on to say that the American Communists have made contributions to this movement. He mentioned the cities of Philadelphia and Detroit, and the states of New Jersey and California in this regard. He also talked about the role of the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" in helping to unfold this movement. ~~X~~

DENNIS emphasized, however, that the Party activity has been limited. He said that the problem is how to expand and multiply all these united front activities against the A and H bomb tests. He said the Party should work for universal pledges to outlaw the use of A and H bombs. The Party should fight for the peaceful application of atomic energy. In this fight, it should be pointed out that monopoly's hold on atomic energy needs to be broken. The Party should point to the Socialist possibilities to develop research for the peaceful use of atomic energy. This should be done for the present and not for a long-range objective. He stated that the Party should center pressure on the ending of nuclear tests and the beginning of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

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This is the present burning issue. In conclusion, he stated that to merely advocate the outlawing of nuclear tests may be a limited issue but it is an urgent objective and it will lead to even bigger things, politically speaking. ~~C~~

Discussion of DENNIS' Report

Remarks of [] ~~C~~

There was a discussion of DENNIS' report and the speakers were each limited to ten minutes. ~~C~~

The first speaker was [] from Los Angeles. He went into a spiel concerning the results of mutation on corn, on flies, etc. He stated that he represented himself as a correspondent for the "People's World" and interviewed some scientists at the California Institute of Technology. He pointed out that while these scientists were ready to give scientific opinions, they did not want to be drawn into controversies of a political nature. ~~C~~

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Remarks of MOLLIE WEST ~~C~~

[] was followed by [] of Illinois. She stated that the liberal, pacifist, church and scientific organizations have taken the lead in this movement. She stated that the obtaining of forty-three names on a petition of the American Friends Service Committee got the ball rolling. She said that a University of Chicago committee has started a petition among scientists. She stated that approaches are being made to the trade unions and that some scientists are addressing trade unions and talking to them about the danger of the fallouts. These scientists are taking advantage of summer schools which have been organized by the trade unions. As an example, she mentioned [] and said that he had talked to members of the United Auto Workers in Chicago about the dangers of the fallout. ~~C~~

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[] continued by stating that there is a need to prepare immediately for a united front campaign this fall. She then described how five thousand copies of "The Worker" supplement, dealing with the outlawing of H-Bomb tests, had been distributed in Illinois. She said that the Illinois District has also ordered five thousand copies of the letter of EUGENE DENNIS to President EISENHOWER concerning the banning of H-Bomb tests. In conclusion, [] stated that she had personally gone to

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the office of the American Friends Service Committee in Chicago and had asked them for copies of their petition which demands the outlawing of H-Bomb tests. She said that as a result of this visit, the American Friends Service Committee withdrew the petition and substituted another one for it. ~~Q~~

[] confession that she went to the American Friends Service Committee and asked for copies of its petition became a big point of discussion at this meeting. Almost everyone questioned the advisability of doing such a thing in the name of the Communist Party. It was felt that this was not a good approach and that it would have been better for individual Party members, not identifying themselves as such, to have gone to the American Friends Service Committee and obtained copies of this petition. They felt that it was better for the Party to stay in the background and that [] action was a Leftist mistake. ~~Q~~

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Remarks of [] ~~Q~~

[] was followed by [] of Montana. He said that the issue of outlawing the H-Bomb is causing a major fight in the Farmers Union. He said that the paper distributed by the Farmers Union in Montana is generally very dull; however, it has reprinted SCHWEITZER's appeal in regard to the H-Bomb tests and it is devoting a considerable amount of space to the H-Bomb tests and their effects. He said that if Senator MANSFIELD, who is running for re-election in 1958, is behaving like he believes in peace, it is due to the pressures and tremendous sentiment of the rural areas for peace and for the outlawing of the H-Bomb tests. ~~Q~~

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS ~~Q~~

BEN DAVIS was the next speaker. He said that the two principal issues before the country today are the H-Bomb tests and civil rights. He said that it is necessary to learn from the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, D.C., how we can form united fronts. He stated that Communists are welcomed as individuals. It is necessary, however, to be careful in the approach so that people in other organizations are not put on the spot. We cannot always get recognition as a Party, as an organization. We have to lay the basis first by means of example. ~~Q~~

DAVIS went on to say that the Communist Party never had a clear position on the A-Bomb which was exploded over Hiroshima. ~~Q~~

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At that time, we were in a war against fascism and we closed our eyes to the damage of atomic bombs. The time has come when we can say that this was wrong. He went on to say that we need to keep science and the people's reaction to it in mind. We have to use science to show the dangers to mankind from the fallout and from the use of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, it is a political question. Even though bombs may kill all classes of people, this is still a political and a class question. We should mobilize politically for peace and also for the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Such things are political and it is on this basis that we can mobilize. ~~C~~

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Remarks of [redacted] ~~X~~

BEN DAVIS was followed by [redacted] of Philadelphia. He described the development of the movement against Atomic Bomb tests in Philadelphia. He said that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom placed an advertisement in a Philadelphia paper. Then this ad, with the addition of local sponsors, was placed in six other Pennsylvania newspapers. He said that the signers constitute a very representative list which includes some labor leaders. He stated that this is no fly-by-night activity. ~~X~~

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Next, [redacted] discussed the Chicago method of direct approach to other organizations by the Communist Party. He stated that he doubted the advisability of such a method. In Philadelphia they work as individuals. The correspondent for the "Daily Worker," [redacted], visited the leaders of some organizations in behalf of the readers of his paper and got some petition signatures. He said that the manner of approach is important because it lays the basis for our future relationship with other groups. He stated that after GENE DENNIS wrote the letter to President EISENHOWER the Philadelphia Party members took copies of this letter to prominent individuals and to organizations. They did not ask for an endorsement but did ask for opinions. He said that since those who were contacted did not have to commit themselves, a favorable response resulted. ~~X~~

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Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER ~~X~~

[redacted] was followed by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. He stated he thought that GENE DENNIS' report was a good report. He did, however, add one point and that is the role of the United States imperialism. He said, we need to add that the purpose of the United States imperialism is to dominate the world. The United States was stopped from dominating the world when the Geneva Conference took place. He went on to say that world tensions are lessening but that the war danger is not over. The attempt by the United States imperialists to dominate the world is not over yet either. It is necessary to clarify this for the

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people. He stated that he favors the formulation of the role of monopoly in imperialism which was used in the resolution adopted at the 16th National Convention. ~~C~~

It should be noted that this statement by FOSTER concerning the role of the United States imperialism created quite a furor in the subsequent discussions. His point of view was not altogether accepted. ~~C~~

Remarks of CARL WINTER ~~C~~

FOSTER was followed by CARL WINTER of Michigan. He said that he agreed with the report of GENE DENNIS and he thinks that this report can be a guide for immediate, practical action. He stated that in Detroit the Party members have helped to circulate the petition of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. He also pointed out that one hundred trade union leaders were selected for the purpose of mailing to them the supplement of "The Worker" which dealt with the H-bomb. Furthermore, a number of these trade unionists were given three month subscriptions to "The Worker" which were paid for by other trade unionists. ~~C~~

WINTER went on to say that the fact that REUTHER's signature appeared on the petition calling for the banning of H-bomb tests, is not known to the membership of the UAW. He said that this is no accident. REUTHER has kept quiet about signing this petition because there is an economic basis for not making this fact known. He said that many of the workers are afraid that disarmament will cause unemployment. Since REUTHER has not given an answer concerning what the workers will do instead of producing armaments, the Communist Party should supply some answers. For example, it could be stated that increased trade could act as a substitute for production of armaments. ~~C~~

CARL WINTER was also critical of what he called the Chicago method of the direct Party approach. He also stressed the point that was made by GENE DENNIS that the Party should talk about a universal agreement on disarmament and not about

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a: unilateral agreement. He said, let other people talk about unilateral disarmament. We should remember the Party's mistakes of the past whereby we would only demand disarmament for our country but not for the Soviet Union. If we placed the issue in this unilateral way we will expose ourselves, therefore, we should put stress on a universal agreement.

Remarks of BEN DOBBS

BEN DOBBS of California was the next speaker. He mentioned the wide circulation of the petition of the American Friends Service Committee. He said that in a matter of a few weeks they have already obtained three thousand signatures. He also mentioned the campaign against the H-bomb tests being waged by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He also mentioned the Walk-a-Thon into the desert where the tests are held. Then DOBBS stated that a scientist club of the Communist Party has asked why the USSR does not set an example by unilaterally stopping the tests. This Party club stated that Russia could at least stop the tests until the United States resumes the tests. This action by Russia might influence world opinion. DOBBS stated, however, that he thought the best answer is a universal agreement to stop the tests.

Remarks of BURT NELSON

DOBBS was followed by BURT NELSON of Washington. He stated that a resolution asking for the outlawing of the A and H-bomb tests was introduced into the Washington State Legislature. It was sponsored by the young democrats and it failed to gain a majority by only a few votes. He said that in the State of Washington there is a wide spread feeling and there is a campaign in the University among the educators and the students and also among the trade unionists, such as the teamsters, for the outlawing of the H-bomb tests.

Remarks of JOHN GATES

JOHNNY GATES was the next speaker. He said that he agrees with the report of GENE DENNIS. He stated that GENE

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DENNIS dealt with the fact that there are contradictions and differences within the ranks of the Bourgeoise. He said these differences exist nationally and internationally. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER once said, and correctly so, that the Communists live off of the Bourgeoise. While this statement is correct he does not agree with FOSTER's statement that today the United States imperialists are out to dominate the world. He said the situation is long past when the United States imperialists can dominate the world. That is a dream. The United States imperialists cannot overthrow socialism, therefore, they cannot dominate the world. While the United States imperialists want to dominate the capitalist world, they are not even succeeding in this because there is resistance on the part of the allies of the United States. While the United States imperialists do oppose the socialist world they cannot dominate the socialist world. Continuing, GATES stated that this explains the differences in the ranks of the Bourgeoise. Some of them already recognize that they cannot overthrow the socialist states. ~~&~~

Then GATES talked about the need for all nations to stop A and H-bomb tests. He said that the Party should publicize a slogan calling for all nations to stop the tests. Furthermore, the Communist Party should state that all nations should withdraw their troops. He also talked about WALTER LIPMANN's idea that there has to be a self-enforcement agreement. This idea of self-enforcement could be added to the report of GENE DENNIS. He also talked about the argument that Russia cannot be trusted. The real issue, he believes, is not this but is the issue of whether or not DULLES, RADFORD and others can be trusted. In conclusion he mentioned that the "Wall Street Journal" had even opposed the use of the word "urgent" in criticism of a speech by DULLES concerning disarmament agreements. ~~&~~

Remarks of TOMMY DENNIS ~~&~~

GATES was followed by TOMMY DENNIS. He talked about the need to answer the economic problems which result from disarmament. He said the workers do not know what they will do if the production of weapons is stopped. He also stated that there

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is opposition to the establishment of an atomic power plant in Michigan. He said that the people are worried about the dangers involved in the use of atomic energy. He said that the Communist Party should work out proposals which could be introduced in various organizations and which would deal with such problems. ~~X~~

Motions Resulting from the
Report of EUGENE DENNIS ~~X~~

A motion was made that the report of EUGENE DENNIS be accepted and that it be published. ~~X~~

A motion was made that a delegation, representing the Party, go to Washington for the purpose of talking to spokesman for the administration and to Democratic Party leaders in the Senate on the question of disarmament. ~~X~~

There was a proposal to work out some safety measures on the use of atomic energy. There was a proposal to draft a number of bills which would prevent the control of atomic energy and the monopoly of atomic energy, which is presently in the hands of the Duponts. ~~X~~

All of these motions were referred to the National Executive Committee except the motion to endorse DENNIS' report. The report of EUGENE DENNIS was accepted unanimously. ~~X~~

AFTERNOON SESSION OF SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1957 ~~X~~

The afternoon of Saturday, July 27, 1957, opened with ANTON KRCHMAREK as the Chairman. ~~X~~

Report on Organization by SID STEIN ~~X~~

The afternoon session of this National Committee meeting opened with a report on organization by SID STEIN. He stated that we are nearing the end of the first stage of the post convention period. We want to re-establish and re-organize the Party. He went on to say that the National Committee did not

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establish itself until May. Even now many committees or subcommittees are just being established. Some commissions have met and are starting to work. We are at last getting to organizational problems. We are beginning to pay attention to organization. The period of re-organization of our leadership has contributed to our difficulties. This National Committee meeting must solve problems, which were left over from the National Convention, in order to permit us to enter into a new period. He suggested that the problems be discussed in a debate and that the debate should be, how to find the best methods of rebuilding the Party. The objective is to make the Communist Party an effective instrument in the class struggle. The class struggle goes on relentlessly. ~~A~~

STEIN reminded the National Committee members to remember the words of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, that factionalism should come to an end, however, in the process of asking for factionalism to come to an end, there were many misunderstandings. There can be no question for us as to whether or not we need the Communist Party. Since we do not question our basic scientific outlook, Marxism-Leninism, we cannot question the need of a Party. Yet there is something new in the present situation. The convention is that thing which is something new and we must emphasize what is new. ~~A~~

STEIN stated that since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, every Communist Party has addressed itself to new things. Other Communist Parties have received a new impetus as the result of the recent events in the Soviet Union. Communist Parties are making contributions to the ideas of Marxism and Leninism. The Chinese Party and other parties have made new contributions. These are contributions for us too, even if we do not copy them exactly. It would be strange indeed if all the other parties carried through on corrections in their work and policies, yet all the American Party did was to re-affirm its past policy. In reconstructing the Communist movement we have to use new cement which will link us to the masses. While we seek the new we also reject any and all propositions that Marxism is outdated or that capitalism will spontaneously change of itself. ~~A~~

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Then STEIN asked, what problems need solution. Answering this question, he stated that this National Committee must end the period of uncertainty and demobilization. He said that there are two extreme tendencies which challenge the line of the National Convention. One tendency saw the National Convention as a revisionist plot, especially since the questions of peaceful transition, and the right to dissent, were raised. We put into our resolution the phrase, Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by us. If we did otherwise it would have pulled us back to sectarianism and dogmatism. ~~X~~

Continuing, STEIN stated that those who oppose this concept, that is, the ultra-Left are now trying to launch a new, pure Communist Party. Then there is the opposite tendency. The opposite tendency magnifies all our mistakes and would reject our contributions to the working class struggle. The supporters of this tendency are those who have lost confidence in the Party. These are the ones who have lost confidence in the future of the Party. These are the people who have been disenchanted by the KHRUSHCHEV revelations concerning STALIN. These are the people who are trying to divorce the role of the Soviet Union from its historical context, that is, from the fact that the Soviet Union is playing a most progressive role in the world. These are the people who do not see that the convention has made changes. ~~X~~

STEIN went on to say that we may still have differences. Nevertheless, we must find the many things which can unite us. The task of this National Committee is to get a picture of the status of the Party, to determine why there were such great losses of members and to give answers on how to reverse this trend. This National Committee must begin to seek answers regarding the contents of our work and the forms of our organization. ~~X~~

STEIN said that there has been an emergence of new Marxist groupings, some of which are composed of old Communist Party members. While we are discussing the content of our work and the form of organization we must determine what our relationship will be to these groups. Then this National Committee must also develop a comprehensive plan to build the

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Communist Party, a plan whereby we can begin to build the Communist Party this fall. ~~C~~

Next, STEIN went on to say that the decline in membership continues. This decline includes leading personnel and rank and file members. While it is a very unpleasant task to give these facts, it is necessary to give them if we want to chart a course for the future. He stated that the figures that he was about to give are close to the truth, in his opinion, but that he would protect himself by saying that they amount to an educated guess. These figures should now be looked upon as points of departure. He said that in 1956 the New York organization had 8,800 members. Now the New York organization has between 3,500 and 4,000 members. In 1956 New England had 387 members and now it has only 150. In 1956 Eastern Pennsylvania had 600 members and today it has 450. In 1956 Western Pennsylvania had 120 members and now it has 85. In 1956 Ohio had 588 members, today it has 450. In 1956 Michigan had 411 members and today it has between 300 and 350 members. In 1956 Illinois had 1,000 members and today it has between 600 and 700 members. In 1956 Minnesota had 272 members and now it has 200 members. In 1956 the Northwest had 350 members and today it has 300 members. In 1956 New Jersey had 730 members and today it has 600 members. In 1956 Connecticut had 200 members and today it has 100 members. In 1956 Wisconsin had 164 members and today it has 125 members. In 1956 California had 2,900 members, today it has 2,200 members. The total number of Party members today is 10,000 compared with 17,000 last year. ~~C~~

It is noted that SID STEIN did not deal with the smaller districts, however, the total figure he mentioned included the smaller districts. ~~C~~

After giving these figures, STEIN went on to talk about the nature of these losses. He asked, what kind of Comrades have left the Communist Party. Answering this question he stated that not only have middle class people left the Party but many workers in basic industry and many who have been active in mass organizations have left the Party. He said that the Party has been badly mauled and is bleeding but the Party is still alive

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and it can and will be rebuilt. He stated that the figure of 10,000 is not a fixed quantity. There are still many Comrades who are sitting on the fence or who are passive. These members may be included in this figure. ~~X~~

Continuing, STEIN stated that the losses have not been confined to rank and filers. Active leaders were also lost. Hundreds of Comrades, including leaders, have been lost and it is necessary for the Comrades to get it out of their heads if they think that 10,000 is as low as we can go. He went on to say that the losses were not the same everywhere. He said that where factionalism was the greatest or where the extreme outlook by the leadership was the greatest, the losses were the largest. There were also losses when the leadership abdicated and where they lost confidence in the Party. There were also losses in those places where the leadership thought that the National Convention did nothing. ~~X~~

Next, STEIN stated that wherever there was a fight for the Party line and some activity, there we find some stability at a minimum level. The Party lost its attractiveness, not because it is not a militant, Marxist-Leninist Party, but because it did not make enough changes. We need a new type and a new outlook on organization. He said that the view that the Party is not militant enough and is not Marxist-Leninist and the view that the Party did not make radical changes are both wrong. These two extreme views were refuted this morning when the Comrades who participated in the discussion cited their experiences and pointed to the amount of work that is going on. ~~X~~

There are some people, STEIN went on to say, who say that all those persons who left the Party are weak sisters. This is a very comfortable and easy explanation but it is not the answer. Many of the people who left the Party were not summer soldiers. Many of these were veterans of the cold war. They stood by the Party. Many people may differ with their judgment about departing but we should not doubt their sincerity. We should help to bring them back into the Party. Some said that

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we over-criticized the Party. He said that he does not agree with this. He said that the criticisms in the resolution adopted at the National Convention are being accepted, however, there is another kind of criticism, for example, the statement that we wasted the last ten years. This is a different criticism and is not a collected criticism. This type of criticism and the criticism which came out of the convention should not be confused. ~~X~~

STEIN said that if he listed the names of people who have left the Party in New England and the names of some of the people who have left the Party in Chicago, particularly old time leading steel workers, then this National Committee would understand that we are not dealing with a simple problem of rank and filers merely losing faith. Therefore, we have to look for deeper reasons causing people to leave the Party. We have to look into ourselves and we have to do something before we can tell these people that they are wrong. ~~X~~

Some say that the Party, as such, cannot emerge as a force to lead the workers. We must find a common denominator for all the reasons why people left the Party. There has been a weakening of ideological moorings. In order to rebuild the Party it is necessary to re-lay the ideological foundation. Some say that in order to do this we need to rebuild faith in the Soviet Union. For thirty-seven years we have been loyal friends of the Soviet Union. We follow them on faith. We did it in an idealistic and dogmatic manner. When it was shown that Soviet society has been developing with difficulties and that the reality is quite different than the dream and that there are some shortcomings, the effect was that it shook and cracked our foundations. Therefore, can we rebuild by merely restoring faith in the Soviet Union through the use of words, as of old. He said that he would give a categorical answer to this question and this answer would be, no. He said that the struggle for a new foundation means doing more than parroting resolutions of good faith. It is necessary to fight both views, that is, the view of those who want faith in the Soviet Union and the view of those who say that there is no socialism in the Soviet Union. ~~X~~

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Then STEIN said, let us show that the defeat of MOLOTOV, KAGANOVICH and MALENKOW will accelerate the advance of the socialist Soviet Union. We need a rational analysis of Soviet society and this will help implement our convention resolution. We have to have this rational analysis but this is only one aspect of the problem. The ideological roots are in this country. United States capitalism cannot give the people the material advantages it brags about. Inevitably there will be a victory of socialism, but creative Marxism will illuminate the path for the American working class. He said that LENIN once said that Marxism means concrete investigation of concrete facts. This is the way we have to operate and we pronounced this at the National Convention. We are making progress and VICTOR PERLO's book, "The Empire of High Finance" should help to lay an ideological basis for our work. ~~X~~

It should be noted that this book by VICTOR PERLO sells for \$5.50 and was sold to persons present at this meeting for \$3.40. It was made available at this reduced price because the book is considered to be very important. It has just been issued by International Publishers and deals with the structure and operation of monopoly in the United States. ~~X~~

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STEIN further stated that in the writing of the new Party program, it will be necessary to search for facts and to give concreteness to our ideology, because ideology is related to organization. We must convince those who waiver or those who have left the Party that the Communist Party is an indispensable force. Events have shown the need for a Communist Party. The H-Bomb movement is being held back because it is being opposed by the giant monopolies and trusts. The workers have the greatest stake and the greatest capabilities to develop this movement to ban the H-Bomb tests. This movement to stop these tests is a mixed class coalition. It would be far more effective if the workers in our Party were most consciously aware of the significance of this movement and were more involved in this movement. ~~X~~

Next STEIN stated that the movement for civil rights and for integration is also a mixed class movement. If we had the right kind of a Party, we could make a unique contribution. We cannot proceed as we did in the past, and as an example of this he cited the Scottsboro case. He said we initiated the Scottsboro case. As opposed to this, the Montgomery movement was initiated by the people in Montgomery through their own leadership. We can give assistance to such a movement, but it may be a modest assistance similar to that used in the Prayer Pilgrimage. This showed a new approach. It was a modest beginning, but an important beginning. ~~X~~

Next STEIN discussed the labor movement. He said that the labor movement faces many problems. It has to deal with the question of technological advances; the fight for the thirty-hour week and the repelling of the attacks on the labor movement. Our role cannot be merely one of fighting against the racketeers. It must contain a plan to deal with the problem of the racketeers. He stated that the labor leaders lack a class approach. For example, their stand on the Fifth Amendment is actually a surrender of the rights of the workers. This shows that the Communist Party is needed. If we carry through our line, as adopted by the 16th Party Convention, we can be of great help to the labor movement. ~~X~~

Next STEIN discussed the recent Supreme Court decisions. He said that the Supreme Court decisions are related to the Party's struggle for the Bill of Rights. This is true even though the Supreme Court justices may have seen things differently than the Party. This struggle for legality and for the Bill of Rights is

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a glorious page in the history of the Communist Party. Yet, some members question our approach in the struggle for the Bill of Rights. He went on to say that the Party did make mistakes in the early 1950's. It underestimated the trends of the American people for civil liberties. He stated, however, that the fight for the legality of the Party has just begun. We should be aware, however, of the fact that the counter-attack against the Bill of Rights and against the Supreme Court is in full swing. The issues are before the country and the Party has to show how the rights of the Communists are intertwined with the rights of labor and with the rights of the people. ~~X~~

STEIN went on to talk about the need to fight for amnesty, for HENRY WINSTON and He said that we have to point out and prove that the objectives of the Communists in these cases are real and that these objectives pertain to others besides Communist Party members. We must also show that the 16th National Convention was not a façade. ~~X~~

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He said we need to answer many questions. For example, some say that perhaps the Party is needed but that it is isolated at the present time. He went on to say that this isolation of the Party is not pre-ordained; it is related to subjective and objective factors. This isolation can be broken. There is a need for a long-range view. Socialism will require a broader Party than the present Communist Party. We do not propose to wait until such a movement emerges. We propose to build the Communist Party and then hasten the building of a broad Socialist movement. These are the reasons for the Party and the kind of a Party we have. This National Committee will develop the line and direction of the 16th National Convention. ~~X~~

Next STEIN stated that there are many problems to solve. How do we approach the rebuilding of the Communist Party? Do we keep only those we have or do we get others? He said, We cannot underestimate the ten thousand members we have. Yet, we need to win back many and we need to keep the many who are vacillating and who have not yet made up their minds whether to stay in the Party or to leave the Party. No ordinary drive in the fall will win back a great many people, because other questions will be coming up in the process. Some individuals say that they cannot return to the club from which they came or to the section where they were a member because they have been in fights with various individuals

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and had serious differences with these individuals. While we fight for certain standards in the Party Constitution, we should not stand on formalities in bringing people back into the Party. This should apply no matter where these people are or in what kind of an organization they are at the present time. He said that even if we have to affiliate them to the National Committee, we should do so. We have to bring these people back and look upon it as a transitory proposition. Bringing these people back, in whatever form, is a problem. It has its dangers, because the big question is that of improving the club life of the Party. We must begin to do this now because as the club life of the Party is presently constituted, it is not conducive for work. ~~X~~

Then STEIN suggested that there be joint meetings between Party and non-Party people. Concerning forms of organization, he said that the Party cannot be too concrete or too specific. The best that can be done is to exchange experiences and let the next National Committee meeting finalize the question of forms of organization. Concerning non-Party Marxist groups, including former Party members who are not hostile to the Party, STEIN said that he believes that the Party can compete with some of these groups and try to bring the members into the Party. This should be done through friendly urging. In the case of individuals, who were former Party members and who are now isolated, we should say, Form an organization and we will compete with you. He said that we have to be on guard that we do not remain a garrison Party and believe that all other groups are waiting to be rescued by us. If we follow this policy, we will be doomed. ~~X~~

STEIN then suggested a draft plan of work be drawn up and that this plan of work be placed into effect in September, October and November. He said that a sub-committee should be established to draw up the plan of work. This plan of work might do the following: Highlight the issues in the mass campaigns. Put forth concrete efforts to rebuild the Party. This would include the pulling together of the cadre including those who are active, those who are passive and those who have left the Party. This plan of work should call for going into the field in order to visit groups and individuals. It should start at the National Committee level and then proceed to the District Committee level, etc. ~~X~~

STEIN also suggested the visiting of cities in which the Party organization has disappeared. He suggested the publishing

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of pamphlets and the making of kits containing ideological material. This material would deal with the campaign for legality and the campaign for amnesty, for [REDACTED] for HENRY WINSTON, and for IRVING POTASH. ~~X~~

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The plan of work would also call for the rebuilding of the press and would evaluate the proposals to achieve economy in the "Daily Worker". It would deal with the question of rebuilding of finances of the National Office and the Districts. The plan of work would also consist of two national conferences. One of these conferences would be on trade union work and the other would be on Negro affairs. All of these things in this plan of work would lead to a Party registration. The goal would be to register at least twelve thousand to fifteen thousand Party members. ~~X~~

Then STEIN turned his attention to the atmosphere in the Party. He said that a conscious effort is needed in order to change things. We have to learn how to get along. The membership wants to know what is going on. Because of this, it has been decided to issue a national bulletin for the purpose of giving the Party members reports, decisions, disagreements, etc., which take place in the top leadership. He stated that this National Committee is impowered to defend the policies of the Party and to interpret the policies of the Party. All other bodies must carry through these policies. ~~X~~

It is to be noted that STEIN was making a reference to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BEN DAVIS and other supporters of the Left wing who have been giving their own interpretation of the policies of the Party. ~~X~~

Continuing, STEIN stated that whatever the majority of the National Committee decides, this is the policy of the Party. He stated, however, that it is necessary to provide organized channels for the expression of differences and of dissent. He suggested that "Political Affairs" should have a section set aside for debate so that personal opinion can be expressed. The new "Discussion Bulletin" should also provide for a section for debate. When it becomes necessary, we will fight for the line of the Party. Yet, we have to overcome the habit of frenzied reaction to people who differ with each other. If we approach things in this way, it should lead to the rebuilding of the Communist Party. ~~X~~

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In concluding his report, STEIN suggested the following persons to compose the sub-committee which would develop a plan of work:

TOMMY DENNIS, of Michigan
BEN DOBBS, of California
[redacted], of Illinois
TOM NABRIED, of Philadelphia
SID STEIN, representing the National Office

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When STEIN completed his report, there was a brief adjournment for dinner, which was served in the restaurant of the Yugoslav Hall. ~~Q~~

EVENING SESSION OF SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1957 ~~Q~~

The evening session of July 27, 1957, was chaired by HOSEA HUDSON. ~~Q~~

Discussion of the Report on Organization
by SID STEIN ~~Q~~

Remarks of EMANUEL BLUM ~~Q~~

MANNY BLUM, representing Indiana, was the first person to discuss the report of SID STEIN. He stated that he welcomed that part of STEIN's report which deals with the class role of the Communist Party. He criticized STEIN's treatment of the so-called extremes. He was particularly critical of STEIN's treatment of the Left wing, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and those who fought the idea of a political action association. He said that FOSTER fought against the idyllic conception of imperialism. He stated that STEIN's report is weak in presenting the opinions of the Left and the Right. ~~Q~~

BLUM then went into a criticism of JOHN GATES. He said that to some extent GATES was echoing the ideological arguments of imperialism. ~~Q~~

He also made a statement that those who were in favor of the political action association were anti-Marxist. ~~Q~~

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It should be pointed out here, parenthetically, that MANNY BLUM was the subject of considerable discussion at this meeting of the National Committee. He was almost annihilated and was the object of almost everyone's wrath with the exception of the extreme Left. ~~C~~

Remarks of STEVE NELSON ~~C~~

MANNY BLUM was followed by STEVE NELSON. He said that he had hoped that this meeting would mark a turning point in the method of discussion. He said that he was sorry that MANNY BLUM has put the discussion on such a low level. He attacked the frenzied opposition when comrades do not agree on a certain point. ~~C~~

NELSON also talked about the need for the Party to deal with some new problems. He said that there are economic and political conflicts in the making in the steel industry. Unemployment is developing. Technological advances mean that there is more production with less work. If the Party wants to rebuild, itself, he believes that it should come forward with a program calling for the nationalization of the steel industry and for higher wages in order to influence and to win the worker. ~~C~~

Remarks of HOSEA HUDSON ~~C~~

The next speaker was HOSEA HUDSON. He referred to himself as a refugee because he spends more time in New York than he does in the South. He talked about the policies of concentration in the South and said that the Party should be careful to avoid becoming involved in only inner Party organizations. If the Party does this, it does not see what the masses are doing. He stated, however, that it is necessary to work differently in the South than in the rest of the country. In the South it is necessary to follow concentration policies in particular cities. Furthermore, the Party may not be able to work by itself in the South. Sometimes there may be a Party organization, in other cases there may be organizations of a Left wing character, and in other cases it may not even be possible to have organizations of a Left wing character, provided that people are able to get together on some issue. ~~C~~

Remarks of SAM KUSHNER ~~C~~

The next speaker was SAM KUSHNER, of Illinois. He said

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that he thinks that some matters that STEIN discussed should be given more emphasis. One would be how to activize the members on the basis of the demands of the working class. As an example of this, he stated that the Communists in Illinois participated in defeating the right-to-work law. As another example, he cited the participation in the Prayer Pilgrimage, in the peace movement, and in the fight for the shorter work week. He stated that we have to help the comrades to find their independent role as Communists. ~~X~~

He stated that he thought that one weakness of STEIN's report was that it did not deal with the manner in which the Party should function in industry. He asked how security would be supplied. He said that the Supreme Court's decisions do not answer everything. There is still the question of security: How do you stop the activities of stool pigeons? In conclusion, he stated that STEIN's report leaves him baffled on the question of Socialist groupings. With regard to ideology, there was a tendency to blur the class line in STEIN's report. ~~X~~

Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER ~~X~~

KUSHNER was followed by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. He said that he is pleased that STEIN placed stress on the building of the Party. He stated, however, that he thought that STEIN's proposals for building the Party organization this fall were too general in nature. He said that he would base the rebuilding of the Communist Party on the 16th National Convention. He would also put an end to factional strife and would handle differences on the ideological sphere. He would review the Party's mass work on all fronts and involve the entire Party in mass work. He would have a systematic effort on all levels to bring back old members. He would have an ideological rehabilitation of the Party. ~~X~~

Continuing, FOSTER stated that the Party was damaged and that its prestige was damaged. He said that we have to teach the membership the indispensibility of the Communist Party as a vanguard Party based on Marxism-Leninism. He said the Communist Party is not a stop gap Party which is waiting for some other Party to take its place. He said that he disagreed with STEIN, who had stated that we did not over-criticize the Party. He said, We dragged the Party into the gutter. We should emphasize that we played a vanguard role in getting the recent Supreme Court decisions. We should quit deprecating the Party. He also stated that

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he thought that the resolution dealing with the vanguard role of the Party is too weak. He mentioned the glorious role the Party played in Scottsboro. ~~Q~~

Then FOSTER said that he disagreed with STEIN concerning the various extremes. He said that STEIN over-emphasizes the Left. FOSTER said that the bulk of the Left is all right and that the LANNON group is very small. He said the Right did exist and almost liquidated the Party. The real danger came from the Right. We cannot solve the problem by just talking about the two extremes. There is a difference between these extremes. ~~Q~~

Remarks of NAT GANLEY ~~Q~~

NAT GANLEY followed in this discussion of STEIN's report. He stated that he was opposed to members-at-large. He said that he remembers collecting dues from people who are now leaders in the United Auto Workers. He even remembers giving these dues to WILL WEINSTONE when he was the District Organizer in Michigan. Yet, where are these former members-at-large now? Then he urged more care in regard to the use of the labels of Right and Left. He said, We need to be tolerant. We need to merge viewpoints and to carry through the suggestions of STEIN's report. First of all, we need to basically unite the National Committee. ~~Q~~

Remarks of EARL DURHAM ~~Q~~

EARL DURHAM made a few remarks. He said that he thought that there was a positiveness in STEIN's report. He said a rounded experience from all Districts is needed. He emphasized the problem of ideology. He also said he was worried about the age level of the Party and the failure to attract younger people. ~~Q~~

Remarks of [REDACTED] ~~Q~~

[REDACTED] of Ohio, was the next speaker, even though he is not a member of the National Committee. He said that ideologically the Party has to break with Stracheyism. It is noted that this was a reference to a recent book by STRACHEY, in which he refutes Marxism. ~~Q~~

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Then [REDACTED] stated that the losses were slight in Ohio and that they took place over a period of years. He said the

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losses were small because the leadership in Cleveland fought for the Party. He stated that he has a feeling that the National Committee is moving too slowly and that it is not reacting to the issues of the people. The fact is that there is no program, as yet, on Negro work, on trade union work, etc. ~~Q~~

Remarks of HY LUMER ~~Q~~

HY LUMER, the Educational Director of the Communist Party - USA, was the next speaker. He said that there is merit in STEIN's report because it tries to rebuild the Party. Even if we do not agree on a particular emphasis, we should keep our eye on the main goal, and that is the rebuilding of the Party. ~~Q~~

Regarding educational work, LUMER stated that most of it is still in the planning stage. He said that they are preparing a series of pamphlets dealing with topical questions. These pamphlets are of a mass character and deal with such questions as the H-Bomb, inflation, corruption in labor unions, the right to vote, the farm question, the shorter work week, housing, youth, and the Supreme Court and civil liberties. ~~Q~~

He stated that they are also preparing a series of educational pamphlets. One of these will be on the Party, another will be on labor, another will be on economic and political questions, another will deal with people's capitalism, one will deal with the Negro question, one with the shorter work week, and this will be more basic than the first one which dealt with automation. They will also have an educational pamphlet dealing with monopolies, another dealing with pension and health plans, and another dealing with various phases of foreign affairs. ~~Q~~

Then LUMER talked of the need for basic educational, theoretical textbooks. He cited the need for a book dealing with the question, What is Socialism, and for another book dealing with the elements of political economy. Then he stated that they have long-range ideas for the production of suitable material to be used for discussions in classes. He said they are working on outlines on the Party, on political economy, on the American political system, on the Negro question, on dialectical materialism, and on the background of American labor. All of these outlines will have as their point of departure present day economic problems, such as inflation. He said that committees are being set up to

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work on these outlines and pamphlets and that some of this material may be ready soon after Labor Day. He stated that he does not really know whether an outline is the best method for discussions in clubs, but those clubs which desire these outlines will be able to get them. He also stated that they are working on an outline of MAO-TSE-TUNG's speech on contradictions and an outline on the 38th anniversary of the Communist Party. This outline will be ready for October and November, and another outline dealing with the Chinese Republic and its role in the world will also be ready in November. ~~X~~

LUMER went on to say that in the fall it is planned to have two regional educational conferences. The plan is to hold one of these in the East and to hold the other one in the Midwest. They are also organizing in the field of theoretical work and groups are being formed for the purpose of working out a Party program. They will work first of all on political economy and then will deal with the Negro question. ~~X~~

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY ~~X~~

HY LUMER was followed by DOROTHY HEALEY, of California. She stated that, unlike the past, an editorial is not sufficient to give direction to the membership of the Party. Since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the members will not accept any explanation. They demand a real scientific explanation. They no longer base themselves on faith or on belief such as a belief in mythology. There is no holy writ that we are that particular Party which will take the lead. We also have to begin to see that things do not begin spontaneously. ~~X~~

Then DOROTHY HEALEY stated that perhaps the Party should ask why tens of thousands of members passed through the Party ranks in the 1930's. She said that at that time we did not doubt the Soviet Union. We used to shout hurrah about everything that the Soviet Union did and we took everything on faith. Yet, people left the Party in those years too. Obviously, there was no good reason for them to continue to belong to the Party. ~~X~~

She then went on to explain the work in the Party clubs in California. She said that even to this day, it requires a lot of courage to belong to a club. She stated that the clubs are small and that there is no challenge to express ideas. She said

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that in Los Angeles they are experimenting with many new forms. For example, they have organized a forum and they invite people from outside the Party to attend Party meetings. She said that ideologically speaking, the Party at the present time sees things in one dimension. Some of the things we say do not correspond to reality. For example, we described the Negro people's movement as a united, organized movement. Yet, when you talk to the Negro people they point out that there are groups within the Negro movement, that there is not always an agreement and that, in fact, there are disagreements. Therefore, it is necessary that our plans and our analyses correspond to reality, if we want to win back the membership and if the Party is to be an influence. ~~X~~

Remarks of LOUIS WEINSTOCK ~~X~~

DOROTHY HEALEY was followed by LOUIS WEINSTOCK. He stated that he was not kept informed while he was in jail. Since he has come out of jail, he has had occasion to talk to about one hundred rank and file comrades. He said that most of those he talked to still believe in the Communist Party and in Marxism-Leninism. He said he is very much disturbed by the membership figures given in STEIN's report. He stated that obviously many members dropped away during 1954 and 1955. These people were neglected and ignored when the Party went underground and chiefly protected its leadership and paid no or little attention to the others. He also stated that he is worried about the absence of a youth movement. He said that he was worried about the dissolution of the Labor Youth League and he thinks that the Party ought to rebuild a youth movement based on Marxism-Leninism, so that the Party will have some kind of a reserve. ~~X~~

Remarks of BURT NELSON ~~X~~

BURT NELSON, from Washington, was the next speaker. He said he thought that SID STEIN gave a good report. He said that while the rank and file would like to hear this report, he thinks that STEIN was not specific enough on forms of organization. He also wanted to know why there was nothing about the youth in STEIN's report. He said that they salvaged the Labor Youth League in Washington. He said that from a national standpoint, the Labor Youth League in Washington was destroyed. The Party in Washington saved the pieces and it is still functioning. He said that since the National Convention took place, they have had no membership losses in Washington. The three hundred members remaining

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are solid. They are organized in thirty-six clubs. One-half of these clubs are in Seattle and the other half are scattered throughout the state. ~~X~~

Remarks of [redacted] ~~X~~

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[redacted] said that the losses of membership in New Jersey are continuing and that the figure given by SID STEIN for New Jersey is an underestimation of the losses. She said that even at their convention they did not have agreement on the estimate of the membership in New Jersey. Then she stated that since the National Convention, the National Committee has not agreed on an estimate of what was done at the National Convention. She said that one of the first tasks is to reach a united estimate of the results of the National Convention. ~~X~~

Remarks of DAVE DAVIS ~~X~~

DAVE DAVIS, of Philadelphia, spoke next. He mentioned that he had attended a meeting of the Trade Union Committee on Friday evening, July 26, 1957. He stated that since they were discussing generalities at this meeting, it was a waste of time. He stated, however, that he believes that the report of EUGENE DENNIS and the report of SID STEIN will now give them a basis for doing something. He said that for the past eighteen months, the Communist Party has been a debating society. He said that while Communists are working all right in the mass organizations, they work as individuals. The collective strength of the Communist Party is not being brought to bear. He stated that as far as he knows, the losses of members in Philadelphia occurred chiefly before the convention. While there are still some losses, there have not been so many lately. ~~X~~

Remarks of [redacted] ~~X~~

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[redacted] of New York, made a rah-rah speech which was actually an attack on STEIN's report but contained nothing else of importance. ~~X~~

Adjournment of the Sessions of July 27, 1957 ~~X~~

At this time the Chairman called on ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN to address the meeting. She stated that she thought that it was too

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late and that since she was not feeling too well, she would like to postpone her remarks until the following day. The meeting adjourned at this time, which was about 11:10 P.M. &

MORNING SESSION OF SUNDAY, JULY 28, 1957 &

The morning session of Sunday, July 28, 1957, opened up at 10:30 A.M. HOSEA HUDSON continued as the Chairman. &

Sub-Report on the Press,
by JACK STACHEL &

The morning session began with a report by JACK STACHEL. This was a sub-report of the report on organization and dealt with the press. STACHEL said that he was enthused by the previous day's meeting of the National Committee. He said that he was enthused by the report of EUGENE DENNIS and that he thought that the report of SID STEIN and HY LUMER's report on education were all good reports. He said that DENNIS' report was a deep analytical report. He said it reminded him of the old days when they used to dig into issues. He said that he thought that SID STEIN's report was one of the best he has heard in regard to what ails the Party and what should be done. &

Then STACHEL mentioned the meeting in Carnegie Hall which had been held on the previous Wednesday evening. He said that it was attended by eighteen hundred people, although the "Daily Worker" gave a figure of sixteen hundred. He said he thought that this was a big event, considering that very little had been done to organize it and that we should be happy that the people responded in this number. He also stated that the speeches were very good at this meeting. &

I would like to say, parenthetically, that the collection at this meeting amounted to \$1,800. Since they charged 90¢ admission, this was considered a pretty good per capita collection; however, the response was not too good because the meeting was well advertised for weeks and some of the speakers had not been heard for years, since they had been in jail. The response was in keeping with the current status of the Party. ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN refused to go to the meeting because his name was rarely mentioned in the advertisements of the meeting. The names of

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ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, PETTIS PERRY and BOB THOMPSON were used, so he refused to associate himself with this type of "equality".

To get back to STACHEL's report, he criticized WILLIAM Z. FOSTER for his attitude concerning the role of American imperialism in dominating the world. He repeated the idea that American imperialism may strive to dominate the world, but an idea and an accomplishment are two different things. He said that American imperialism will never achieve this goal, because of the strong Socialist world. He then polomized against JOHNNY GATES' attitude toward the report of EUGENE DENNIS. He said that he thought that GATES' concept of imperialism was also subjective. He reminded GATES that LENIN said that imperialism is a phase of Capitalism and that it is not another policy.

Then STACHEL attacked MANNY BLUM. He said that the BLUM discussion set a very bad example and that BLUM should not consider everyone who favors a political action association as an enemy of the Party.

STACHEL then went into additional criticism of FOSTER. He stated that he likes FOSTER, but that FOSTER has a habit of raising questions in such a manner that sets him apart from others. He said the big problem is how to work together. We should be interested in welding together the unity of the National Committee in order to give leadership to the Party and to the working class.

Then STACHEL stated that the report he made at the previous National Committee was a mandate. He asked, Was it carried through? What about the paper? What about its economic status? Are we going to guarantee the life of the paper? What about the line of the paper?

Then he went on to talk about the resolution on the "Daily Worker" which had been received from Illinois. He said he was happy to read this resolution. He said that not all the criticism in this resolution is correct but that it was not destructive criticism. The resolution indicates a plan to build the paper.

Then STACHEL reported that only one-half of the subscriptions for "The Worker" have been received thus far. A total of \$36,000 has been received thus far in the fund drive. The "Daily Worker" subscription goal has been virtually fulfilled. The goal was 1,300 and at the time he prepared his report a total of 1,232

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had been received. He went on to praise Illinois because Illinois has already sent in 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of its fund drive goal. He also stated that Illinois has fulfilled 85% of its "Daily Worker" goal. It has already sent in 170 subscriptions, while the goal was 200. He said that if Illinois can do it, other Districts can do it. ~~C~~

Parenthetically speaking, it should be pointed out that if it had not been for a windfall, the Illinois District would not have been so successful in the fund drive. It is noted that an unidentified man came into the Party office and presented [] with a paper bag containing \$1,200. ~~C~~

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STACHEL went on to say that he has studied thirty-five issues of the paper. He said that he studied the paper to see if the line of the Party was being carried out. They also had some hot meetings with the staff of the "Daily Worker". These meetings reflected the situation on the paper. He said that the paper has improved in carrying out the line of the Party. He would say that even JOHN GATES has done better, but that SI GERSON and [] have done much better in carrying out the line of the Party. ~~C~~

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Then STACHEL stated that it should be kept in mind that JOE CLARK's line is not embodied in the editorials. He mentioned some good writing and editorials on the United Nations and Hungary, on the recent events in the USSR and on the Supreme Court decisions. He stated that he was criticized for not seeing sectarianism in the line of the "Daily Worker". He admitted that perhaps he had made some omissions. ~~C~~

Next STACHEL gave some statistics on the number of stories and editorials concerning the H-Bomb, housing, civil rights, and other issues in the thirty-five editions that he analyzed. He went on to point out that from now on they have agreed that columns should be treated as editorials. This is to contain columnists such as JOE CLARK. ~~C~~

STACHEL cited some improvements in the paper in articles dealing with economic questions such as the cost of living, taxes and housing. Then he went into the question of book reviews. He said that book reviews could be used for political purposes. He said that the book reviews in "The Worker" are not too good. In the "Daily Worker", [] is the chief reviewer and since he has an ax to grind, he is always saying something against the

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Party. STACHEL was particularly incensed about a review by [] of a recent book by ARTHUR KOESTLER (ph). He said that the problem of book reviews still has to be solved on the "Daily Worker". He went on to attack the book review by [] of APTHEKER's book, "The Truth About Hungary". ~~✗~~ b6 b7C

Then STACHEL cited the proposals of the National Executive Committee. These proposals are that the paper continue to fight for the line of the Party, that a series of articles be written to deepen the understanding of the 16th National Convention, that these articles be related to current events and prove the validity of the theory and the indispensable role of the Party. The proposals also call for the strengthening of certain departments so that the CLARK group will not hold sway. Other proposals of the National Executive Committee are to invite guest columnists and to formalize the Editorial Board in order to give it greater authority for the purpose of getting more productivity. ~~✗~~

STACHEL said that the paper was trying to carry through these decisions of the National Executive Committee, but that the paper has not yet given any fundamental answers and no perspectives, even though it does deal with current problems. He said that he was disappointed in the articles on Socialism. They did not work out as was expected. ~~✗~~

Next STACHEL talked about the continual fight for ideology. He said that the National Executive Committee must continue to intensify the struggle for the line of the paper. The political and organizational measures of the National Executive Committee should be speedily executed. The proposals regarding the columns and the setting up of the discussion page should be executed so that people can express themselves. If they want to dissent, they will have the discussion page for this purpose and can not use the columns in order to dissent. ~~✗~~

Then STACHEL stated that the leading comrades on the National Executive Committee and on the paper should be organized to write for the paper. They should organize for full coverage, not only of foreign policy but on other things which would implement the line of the convention. ~~✗~~

In conclusion, STACHEL stated that he would suggest that the National Committee leave it to the National Executive Committee

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and to the editors to implement the decisions. He stated that CLARK is anxious to leave the paper. He said that he does not know what damage CLARK would do if he was removed; however, the National Committee should not divide itself on JOE CLARK. Rather, it should unite ideologically. ~~Q~~

Discussion Following STACHEL's
Report on the Press

Remarks of TOM NABRIED ~~Q~~

TOM NABRIED, of Pennsylvania, stated that patience is necessary in order to solve the problems of the paper. At the same time, the Party should not stand for the blackmail of JOHNNY GATES, who threatens to resign as Editor of the "Daily Worker". ~~Q~~

Remarks of ~~Q~~

from Illinois, spoke next. She talked about the status of the Party organization in Illinois. She said that in Illinois the losses of members were only in the steel area and in South Chicago. She said that except for this, the organization has remained intact. She pointed out that there are some functioning commissions in Chicago which include some non-Party people. There is a school commission, a housing commission and a health commission. These commissions contain non-Party people. The Party has agreed to meet with these non-Party and ex-Party members, since these people have always worked on these issues. ~~Q~~

She went on to state that there is a Eugene V. Debs Forum in Chicago, and that there is also a small group of ex-Communist members who meet but who are not spreading their influence. She stated that the Party also uses other forums or other forms of organization. These forums are organized on a community basis. ~~Q~~

It is believed that was referring to the Hyde Park area of Chicago. She stated that the meetings are held in homes and non-Party people are invited. These meetings are used as umbrellas in order to bring in people who ordinarily would not want to come into a meeting which is directly under the auspices of the Communist Party. ~~Q~~

Remarks of TOM DENNIS ~~Q~~

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TOMMY DENNIS, of Michigan, spoke. He said that up to now the State Committee in Michigan was not a political policy-making body, but that they are trying to change this condition. ~~X~~

Remarks of WILLIAM WEINSTONE | ~~c~~

WILLIAM WEINSTONE, of New York, spoke. He said that he thought that the reports given at this meeting were a positive step forward. He objected to the lack of time and said that one should receive more than ten minutes to speak. He said that there were too many points on the agenda and that everyone is rushed. He stated that he would like to see future meetings of the National Committee limited to one or two points so that there can be adequate discussion. ~~X~~

He said he likes SID STEIN's report because it emphasizes a Party of Marxism-Leninism. He stated, however, that he did not think that STEIN gave enough time to the organizational forms. He said that Leninism has a philosophy of organization and we should stick to that philosophy of organization. WEINSTONE said that the repression by the government, as well as the discussion which has been going on in the Party for some time, has disbursed the Party organization. There is now a need to get the forces together. ~~X~~

Continuing, WEINSTONE said that he objects to non-Party, uncontrolled forms of organization. He said he does not think that the Party should meet with non-Party people or organized groups which the Party cannot completely control. He asked why the people lost their ideological moorings. He then quoted from MAO-TSE-TUNG. He said, We underestimate how the bourgeoisie ideological drive has effected our Party. Pages in the press are given daily to that ideological campaign. He explained that HOWARD FAST, JOE STAROBIN, JOHN STEUBEN and others had an effect on the weakening of the ideology of the Party. ~~X~~

WEINSTONE then went into a description of the composition of the Party in New York. He said that to a large extent, the Party in New York is Jewish. The Jewish question has affected the Party. First of all, there was the extermination of six million Jews by HITLER. Then there was disillusionment over the handling of the Jewish question in the Soviet Union. Then the Jewish population in New York shifted from industry into petty bourgeoisie trades and professions. The Jewish bourgeoisie is well organized

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and is influencing the Jewish workers. This influence penetrates our Party. ~~X~~

Next WEINSTONE stated that the proletariat of the Party in New York is not sufficiently proletarian in character. This causes a lot of vacillation. He said that the New York leadership at one time wanted to scuttle the Party. Here he quoted from the No. 6 issue of "Party Voice" of 1956 in order to explain this statement. He said, You don't forget that at one time the vote in the New York State Committee was 36 to 14 to scuttle the Party and build a political association. He stated that some of those holding this view have now left the Party. ~~X~~

Then WEINSTONE stated that one section, Clearview on Long Island, was dissolved. The leadership deserted the section. For one year this section had no meetings. Only in recent days has a group of twelve members been formed in this section. ~~X~~

Bourgeois ideology seeps into our ranks and the ideology is the main pillar of the Party. If that is weakened, the Party is weakened. Then WEINSTONE continued by stating that he welcomes the proposals of JACK STACHEL regarding the "Daily Worker". He said that the paper has caused demoralization on many occasions. If we cannot use the paper as Marxist-Leninists, what have we got? The way the paper is being run now, it has been opened to the ideas of the bourgeoisie. ~~X~~

W. W. WEINSTONE went on to say that the Party has been re-organized from top to bottom. The only institution that has escaped re-organization is the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker". He asked why there has been no change there. He said, What about JOHNNY GATES' threat to resign and the release of CLARK? What about this threat? Are we going to stand for it? Are we confronted with a more serious situation? If JOE CLARK leaves, does JOHNNY GATES intend to leave? ~~X~~

By these questions, WEINSTONE made an issue of JOE CLARK. Following these questions, WEINSTONE openly criticized WILLIAM Z. FOSTER for the first time, since he is affiliated with FOSTER on most points of view. ~~X~~

WEINSTONE said that FOSTER could help the Party if he would engage in some self-criticism. He said that FOSTER has a

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habit of presenting things on an individual basis and in a sharp manner. This sets him apart from others. If FOSTER can do this, maybe JOHNNY can do it too. He stated that he admires FOSTER and that no one else has done more for the Party than FOSTER; however, FOSTER has to keep in mind that the unity of the Party is important. FOSTER has to make some approaches where he presents his problems not only from the individual point of view, but from the point of view of what is good for everyone, what is good for the collective. ✓

Remarks of HY LUMER ✓

WEINSTONE was followed by HY LUMER. He said that he does not consider JOE CLARK a Marxist. He stated that JOE CLARK is moving away from Marxism. We cannot live with this situation. We have to place the question of the right to dissent versus democratic centralism. ✓

The use of this phraseology by LUMER became a point of debate. Later on, FRED FINE stated that it is not a question of dissent versus democratic centralism. It is a question of democratic centralism and dissent. ✓

Remarks of [REDACTED] ✓

[REDACTED] spoke next. He said that he disagreed with some remarks by [REDACTED] in regard to the "Daily Worker". He said that he thinks that JOE CLARK is stimulating. Just because we disagree with him, we should not want to remove him. He asked, What do we call stimulating, only that with which we agree? He stated that JOE CLARK should have been invited to this National Committee meeting in order to participate in this debate. Then he asked about the Party's attitude toward social democracy. He said that no answers have been given yet and he would like to get some answers regarding the Party's attitude toward social democracy.

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Remarks of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN ✓

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who declined to speak the previous night, was the next speaker. She was welcomed to the platform by FRED FINE, who pinned a corsage on her in behalf of the members from Illinois. She made a rah-rah speech in which she talked about life in prison and the neglect of prison reform. She commented on how intolerant people have become. She said that they will not

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engage in comradely discussions and they expect her to join some group. She said that she will not belong to any group. She spoke against sectarianism, but on the question of Hungary she stated that she did not see why the Party did not take sides, since reaction was in the forefront. ~~C~~

She made a general speech in which she said that she was glad to be out of prison. She promised that she will take a rest and will watch her health. She said that she will participate in activity and she praised the Party. She said that she is planning the second volume of her autobiography, and in this volume she will show what it means to be a Communist. ~~C~~

It should be noted that in this meeting ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was not as positive as she had been in a private discussion the previous evening. At that time she said she is against the Left and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, who is doing considerable damage and harm to the Party. ~~C~~

Remarks of JOHN GATES | ~~C~~

JOHN GATES followed ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN in this discussion. He said that this is a decisive meeting. The form of organization might decide the fate of the Party. The question of the "Daily Worker" and the removal of JOE CLARK is tied up with where we are going. Do we carry through the decisions of the 16th National Convention, or do we reverse them? If we are concerned with CLARK's effort to reverse the line of the Party, let us also be concerned with others who want to reverse the line of the Party, particularly WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. What about WILLIAM Z. FOSTER's articles which have been contrary to the line of the Party? Why hasn't somebody raised that? GATES then referred to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER's speech of the previous day in which he mentioned the two extremes. He said that according to FOSTER, there is no extreme on the Left, there is only the Right danger. He reminded FOSTER that the 16th National Convention resolution says that Left sectarianism is the main danger, although there are Right tendencies in the Party and it is necessary to struggle on two fronts. ~~C~~

GATES said that he thought that the National Committee is not fighting adequately for the line of the 16th National Convention. He stated that in his opinion, APTHEKER's book is not the line of the Party. It is the point of view of APTHEKER. Why is

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there no excitement? Why no criticism of APTHEKER's book? Why no criticism of [redacted] It is because [redacted] just deals with the labor movement. But if one deals with the USSR, that is taboo; that is to be criticized. ~~Q~~

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Then he asked WILL WEINSTONE if he had said he might resign as Editor of the "Daily Worker". He said that he is not afraid of WILL WEINSTONE or of any threats. ~~Q~~

Next GATES said that atmosphere is very important. We need a good atmosphere so we can discuss every question in a comradely way. Then he launched into an attack on MANNY BLUM. This was the kind of an attack that has not been seen in the Communist Party for a long, long time. ~~Q~~

GATES said that he is not going to dignify MANNY BLUM by calling him a comrade. He said that he would call him Mr. BLUM and that Mr. BLUM is an enemy of the Party, if he states that people who favor the political association echo the policy of imperialism. If you keep on talking about other people as you have talked about me in this light, Mr. BLUM, you will drive more people out of the Party. That kind of talk won't win five members back to the Party. This only divides the Party. So you are going to try to divide the Party into those who are supposed to be for imperialism and those who are against it. People won't feel at home if you continue this type of discussion and create this kind of atmosphere. You cannot keep on calling people pro-imperialist and pro-fascist. ~~Q~~

Continuing, GATES said that BLUM stated that the Party was saved twice by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. If the Party was saved twice, how come we only have ten thousand members at the present time? Then he stated that he believes that this figure of ten thousand is inflated. It seems the more we save the Party, the more it disappears. There must be something wrong with the way we save the Party. Some people, like Mr. BLUM, would like to believe that people are not leaving fast enough, therefore, they want to drive them out. They want to tighten the screws, they want to purge them. What we should really do is try to keep people from leaving the Party. We should not be in a hurry to read them out of the Party like we are trying to read JOE CLARK out of the Party. ~~Q~~

Then GATES said that it is necessary to be careful how you criticize people. He said, I have heard a very prominent

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member of the National Committee, who is sitting in this meeting, say, before GURLEY FLYNN went to jail, that she never was a Communist and she never will be a Communist. &

It is believed that GATES said this in order to embarrass some of those persons present at this meeting. He may have been referring to a remark made by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER at one time. &

Then GATES went on to defend JOE CLARK. He said JOE CLARK made contributions. CLARK made particular contributions in 1953, when he showed the correct state of world affairs and showed that we exaggerated the war danger. Let us not forget that. GATES said that he has disagreements with JOE CLARK, but he also has agreements with him. The policy ought to be to persuade. That is more difficult than chopping heads. The world Communist movement has done better on chopping heads than on persuading people ideologically. &

According to GATES, CLARK has been wanting to quit the paper. GATES has asked him to stay and fight out his differences inside the Party. He said that he thinks that if JOE CLARK quits or is removed, it would be harmful to the cause. He said, Keep in mind that JOE CLARK has been in the Party since 1927. He is the one who symbolizes the new approach by the Party in the minds of many thousands. If he left under cloudy circumstances, the head of the FBI, EDGAR HOOVER, would again talk about hysteria and say that our convention was a phony. Many thousands of people would believe this, especially since we would carry on this purge after the Supreme Court decisions. &

Then GATES said that the Party has not provided channels for dissent and it has to provide these channels. We will win no one if our approach is merely organizational. We have to convince the people who follow CLARK that he is wrong. &

In conclusion, GATES said, "If the National Committee expresses a lack of confidence in my leadership of the 'Daily Worker', I will resign." If the National Committee takes action to remove JOE CLARK, I will consider it a lack of confidence. This is not blackmail nor intimidation. This would mean that the forces who want to reverse the 16th Party Convention have won. He went on to say that we either have a Party where we can live and work together in a comradely way, or we do not. Let us behave

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like an American Party. Let us fight it out on an ideological basis. ~~C~~

Remarks of MICHAEL RUSSO | ~~C~~

MIKE RUSSO, of New England, followed JOHN GATES. He said that he is for unity but he is also for debate. He said some people arrogate to themselves the mantle of defenders of the Party. These people debate like theologians. They insist that their dogma be accepted. Then he said that he thinks that the Party ought to be fitted into the national, American process. ~~C~~

Remarks of SID TAYLOR | ~~C~~

RUSSO was followed by SID TAYLOR, who stated that he is beginning to feel that maybe it is better to sit it out. He said that the convention saved the Party. No individual or even a group of individuals saved the Party. He talked about the immediate demands of the Party. He stated that in New Haven, the Party carried on a fight in the City Council for the giving of free polio shots. ~~C~~

Remarks of [redacted] | ~~C~~

[redacted] of California, said that she associates herself with WILL WEINSTONE. She said that GATES' article in the "Daily Worker" did not really answer JOE CLARK and that it was a poor article. ~~C~~

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS | ~~C~~

BEN DAVIS was the next speaker. He said that he associates himself with the positive aspects of SID's report; however, he has some reservations and he also associates himself with the remarks of WILL WEINSTONE. He said that New York has not yet discussed the problem of Party organization; however, New York will do this at the District Committee meeting scheduled to be held the next weekend. ~~C~~

Then DAVIS said that he would associate himself with some of the remarks made by MANNY BLUM, in which BLUM pointed out that FOSTER helped to save the Party; however, he also wants to associate himself with some of the remarks of WILL WEINSTONE, who uttered some constructive criticism of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. He said

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he thinks that FOSTER does have a tendency to go out on his own from time to time. He also stated that GATES should not have assaulted MANNY BLUM so sharply. ~~C~~

Incidentally, that is all he said in defense of MANNY BLUM, although BLUM is associated with BEN DAVIS. ~~C~~

Next DAVIS talked about the speech BOB THOMPSON made at the Carnegie Hall meeting. He said he thought that BOB THOMPSON's speech gave the Party a lift. ~~C~~

Parenthetically, it should be stated that each side is trying to win over THOMPSON. This so-called praise of BOB THOMPSON by BEN DAVIS is an example of the effort to line him up. ~~C~~

BEN DAVIS stated that STEIN should explain why there is an ultra-Left. He said that in New York he and others have been battling this ultra-Left. This explains the battles in New York. DAVIS attacked GATES for trying to compare the writings of FOSTER with the writings of JOE CLARK, who writes daily. He said that there is no comparison. He also said that he disagrees with the remark of GATES that American imperialism does not want to dominate the world, it only wants to dominate the Capitalist world. He said United States supremacy does dominate the Capitalist world now. In conclusion, he stated that it is wrong for GATES to threaten to resign and that GATES cannot do this. ~~C~~

Remarks of [redacted] ~~C~~

[redacted] took the floor and attacked both the report of SID STEIN and JOHN GATES. After [redacted] remarks, there was an adjournment for lunch. ~~C~~

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AFTERNOON SESSION OF JULY 28, 1957

NAT GANLEY was the Chairman of the afternoon session of July 28, 1957.

Remarks of BILL ALBERTSON

The first speaker during the afternoon session of July 28, 1957, was BILL ALBERTSON. He had been invited to the meeting and is not a member of the National Committee. He said that he agrees with the essence of SID STEIN's report and that of JACK STACHEL. Since both are serious attempts to cope with problems. He said JOHNNY GATES' approach tends to paralyze the "Daily Worker" and the Party. We need majority rule and unity of action.

Then ALBERTSON said that the losses in New York were chiefly in the areas where the leadership downgraded the concept of a Party. He stated that there were big losses in the distributor trade. He said that some of these persons want to have a class on STRACHEY's book. He also stated that in the fur industry some persons he talked to wanted a Party organization made up of Party people, non-Party people and some progressives. They said that this organization would not be anti-Communist and asked him what he wanted when he said he opposed it. He said that he could not understand this type of an organization, where the only concession would be that it would not be anti-Communist.

Remarks of FRED FINE

FRED FINE followed ALBERTSON. He said that he associates himself with SID STEIN's report in its total approach. He said that he wanted to disagree with a suggestion that the "Daily Worker" be reduced to four pages. Then he quoted from that portion of the resolution of the 16th National Convention on the building of the Party. He said that we all agreed on that. We agreed that we are going to build a Party. The question is how and what kind of a Party.

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Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

FRED FINE was followed by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT of Illinois. LIGHTFOOT said, we should not repeat the fight that we have been carrying on a year and a half. The question is how to rebuild the Party on the basis of implementing the 16th National Convention decisions. He said that those who quit the Party did so for varied reasons. Not all of them had the same reason. We will not build a mass Party or even get back thousands all at once. We must be patient. We need some self-criticism and humility in regard to past mistakes. We have to struggle on two fronts on the basis of our daily mass work and by concrete example. It would be bad if we divided ourselves further on the issues here or the issues of the past.

Remarks of BEN DOBBS

BEN DOBBS from California spoke again. He said that in Los Angeles they are addressing themselves to the problems which were raised in SID STEIN's report. They are beginning with the club since they have to solve the problems of the lowest organization in order to solve the problems of the Party.

Remarks of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of Montana spoke next. He said that he has faith in socialism. He stated that whether or not JOE CLARK is removed or not removed will not affect us too much. The amount of important work, however, will affect us. If we do some mass work then we may achieve some unity.

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Remarks of AL RICHMOND

AL RICHMOND from California was the next speaker. He said that in discussing STEIN's report it is necessary to discuss why people left the Party, especially why 7,000 left in the last year. RICHMOND asked, didn't we shout fundamental ideas for decades? Didn't we shout Marxism-Leninism and loyalty to the Soviet Union? Yet people left the Party. Obviously,

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they wanted more than pledges of unity with the Soviet Union or the acceptance of Marxism-Leninism. ~~X~~

Then RICHMOND pointed out that the "Daily People's World" went under and that the "People's World" is still in danger because of the situation in the Party. He said that organizational rigidity could be an obstacle to those members who left the Party. We should not let organizational rigidity stand in the way. Let's do away with certain organizational forms that are rigid in order to get people back. ~~X~~

Concerning JOE CLARK, he asked if the firing of JOE CLARK would or would not help to bring people back to the Party. The answer to this question should give the answer to whether or not CLARK should be fired. He said he thinks that it would be injurious to remove CLARK now. ~~X~~

Remarks of ~~X~~

stated that he thinks that SID STEIN's report is late. He said, we better start to rebuild right now and he thinks that the Party has to move in on an ideological basis and on an organizational basis. He said that the leadership has not given a concrete trade union policy to the membership as yet. He stated that the trade unionists are not receiving leadership from the National Committee.. He said that everytime JOE CLARK writes an article in the "Daily Worker" there is hell to pay. He also stated that he thought that JOHN GATES' article, ostensibly answering JOE CLARK, was no good. ~~X~~

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Remarks of MICKEY LIMA ~~X~~

MICKEY LIMA of California followed. He said that the Party will be rebuilt but on a club basis. He said he thinks that the leadership ought to go into clubs, pay their dues there and do some work there. He also stated that he thinks that JOE CLARK is a diversionist issue and that it should not be discussed so much.

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Remarks of CARL ROSS | ~~8~~

CARL ROSS of Minnesota followed LIMA. He said that the efforts to sidestep the convention decisions are injurious to the Party. He said, we should estimate our resources before working out proposals for the "Daily Worker." We should determine whether we can keep it or cannot keep it and then act accordingly. We should not make plans that we cannot carry through. Then ROSS described how his district had enlarged its clubs by merging smaller clubs into larger clubs. He said that the county leadership had been elected democratically and this is why they have held the line in Minnesota where the losses have been reduced to a minimum. ~~8~~

Remarks of CARL WINTER | ~~8~~

CARL WINTER was the next speaker. He said that SID STEIN's report will be welcomed by the Party because it will help to rebuild the Party and it invites discussion on the methods to rebuild the Party. He said that he thinks that one of the weaknesses of the present National Committee is that there has been no self-critical examination of the leadership. He said that new principles of organization were adopted at the last convention of the Party. Two-thirds of the members of the National Committee come from the districts. The National Committee is supposed to lead but it very often refers policy back to the National Executive Committee or to the National Administrative Committee as in the old days. ~~8~~

In concluding his remarks WINTER talked about JOE CLARK. He said that JOE CLARK has a demoralizing effect on the Party. Even a trade union would not have anyone in charge of formulating policy when he is against the main policy. ~~8~~

Remarks of PETTIS PERRY | ~~8~~

WINTER was followed by PETTIS PERRY. This was the first speech by PETTIS PERRY in a few years since he has been in prison.

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He talked in generalities and pointed out that he belongs to no group. He suggested that the name of every member who once belonged to the Party and who has quit the Party be gone over. The leading people should be assigned to visit every individual and try to bring them back into the ranks. ~~✗~~

Then PERRY talked about the need to show the relationship between the liberation movement of the Negro people in this country and the liberation movement that is developing in the various colonial and semi-colonial countries. He ended his remarks by saying that despite his imprisonment and illness he is not discouraged about the Party. ~~✗~~

Remarks of ~~✗~~

made a few very brief remarks in which he endorsed SID STEIN's report in general. ~~✗~~

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS ~~✗~~

DENNIS followed ROBERTS and said that he wanted to make some miscellaneous remarks. He said that he associates himself with those Comrades who accept the main direction of SID STEIN's report. He stated that he thought that it was a constructive report and gave some answers and projected some answers on the rebuilding of the Party. He said that it is not enough to say that the report is sound because it talked of building the Party. One must see the totality of the report, not only that part about the building of the Party but also the method to be used and what forms will be adopted. ~~✗~~

Then DENNIS stated that he was disturbed by some of the overtones injected into the discussion. He said some were waiting for WILLIAM Z. FOSTER or WILLIAM WEINSTONE or others so that they could trip them up and continue the pre-convention discussion. This is not helpful of a free exchange of opinion. ~~✗~~

In regard to the remarks of FOSTER that there is a dangerous Right tendency, DENNIS said that there is a dangerous Right tendency. However, he wants to emphasize, as does the resolution of the 16th National Convention, that Left sectarianism

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is the chief problem. He quoted TOGLIATTI of the Italian Communist Party who said that revisionism is endangering, but a Left sectarian line cannot wage an effective fight against the Right danger. ~~X~~

In regard to JOHNNY GATES' remarks, DENNIS said that the issue is not whether JOE CLARK has a right to dissent but rather it is the application of the line of the 16th National Convention, which JOE CLARK is not applying. He said that the last National Committee meeting criticized the foreign editors' line and it is incumbent upon the foreign editor to accept the National Committee's decision. He said that the raising of resignations by JOHNNY is bad and harmful. He does not want the National Committee torn apart or split into camps but the JOE CLARK question can be and should be resolved. He said that he would treat the question of unity as MAO of China did. In order to have unity you have to talk in a sloganized way, for example, unity, criticism, unity. In order to do so, however, one must start with the premise that it is necessary to achieve Party unity. ~~X~~

Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER ~~X~~

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER asked for the floor on a point of personal privilege. He said that in the past he has pointed out that the main danger in the American Party has traditionally been the Left danger, but in the immediate period the Right danger is the main danger. ~~X~~

In regard to GATES' remark that the articles of FOSTER, which were printed, were anti-Party articles, he said that they were not anti-Party articles. It may be that they were anti-"Daily Worker" line, but they were not anti-Party line. He said that JOHNNY GATES is making a serious mistake when he threatens to resign if JOE CLARK is removed. He thinks that this National Committee should not yield to JOHNNY GATES' threat. This is the sixth time GATES has made this threat. ~~X~~

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Remarks of EMANUEL BLUM | ~~Q~~

Then MANNY BLUM asked for the floor on a point of personal privilege and he was given three minutes. He said that the attack upon him by JOHNNY GATES and others was the sharpest attack ever made upon anyone in the Party. He stated he did not call JOHNNY an agent of imperialism. He said that he just talked about the influence of imperialist ideology and GATES' failure to see the role of imperialist ideology. He said that JOHNNY certainly did not set an example of comradely discussion by his vicious attack against him. ~~Q~~

BLUM also apologized if he conveyed the idea that he called the Comrades who favored the political association as being anti-Party and liquidationists. He said that he did not mean to imply this. ~~Q~~

Remarks of SID STEIN | ~~Q~~

Since it was getting late SID STEIN got the floor and made the following remarks:

With regard to the political line of his report he said that he is going to ask for the endorsement of the report in its totality. Concerning the two extremes, he said that he did not talk about individuals. He did talk about ideas and tendencies. As to the criticism of the report in regard to specifics on form and approaches, he said that if there is anything positive he is willing to accept it and to modify his report. He said he wants help on this. However, he also wants an endorsement of the flexible forms of organization in order to bring back the members who have been lost. ~~Q~~

With regard to industry, what the Party does in industry, who the Party organizes in industry, he will meet with the trade union people and get their ideas. He said, we need additional means to get together in order to talk over some of these concrete things. ~~Q~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741
JEK:cjz

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Motion to Adopt STEIN's
Report on Organization ~~1~~

A motion was made to adopt SID STEIN's report on organization. This report was adopted unanimously with two reservations, one by BEN DAVIS and the other by WILLIAM WEINSTONE. DAVIS asked for the right to record why he voted yes with reservation. While [] may have voted yes with reservations, he did not get the floor to state this fact. ~~2~~

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Additional Remarks by SID STEIN ~~1~~

STEIN stated that a plan of work has been prepared but he did not want to read it at this particular time since it was getting late and there were other points on the order of business. He said that the plan of work consists of an explanation of the tasks by the National Committee. That is, the National Committee tells the Party what the National Committee wants to do and what it wants the lower organizations to do on their own. The National Committee is not going to tell the lower organizations what to do. ~~3~~

With regard to the rebuilding of the Party he said that he will ask everybody to join. The National Committee will offer its help to anybody in order to bring the membership back. The plan of work would also connect mass work with the building of the paper and the use of the paper for mass work. He repeated that they are going to call a number of conferences. One will be on trade union work and one will be on Negro work. At the trade union conference they will try to work out an economic program of struggle. ~~4~~

Then STEIN stated that the plan of work would also set forth ideas on revamping the financial campaigns. This would include a plan to carry on the kind of campaign which would rebuild the finances of the districts which are presently at their lowest point. ~~5~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741
JEK:cjz

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STEIN also stated that the National Executive Committee is working out a new dues plan for approval. He also stated that the plan of work would be linked up with the fight for amnesty for those still in prison and with the fight for the legality of the Party. ~~2~~

Motions on the Report of JACK STACHEL ~~1~~ ~~2~~

The following motions were made in regard to the report of JACK STACHEL:

1. That the line of STACHEL's report be approved; that both progress and unresolved weaknesses be noted.
2. That the ideological struggle be continued on the basis of the 16th National Convention.
3. That the decision of the National Executive Committee that columns be treated as editorials should be carried through. Control should be exercised over the columns.
4. That members of the National Committee be asked to write for the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker."
5. That the "Daily Worker" should guarantee full foreign coverage to carry through the line in the resolution of the 16th National Convention in regard to proletarian internationalism. That the anti-Soviet line be stopped.
6. That the National Executive Committee be empowered by the National Committee to take all measures to implement the above. ~~2~~

The report and the motions were adopted with two abstentions and three opposed. ~~2~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741
JEK:cjz

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A motion was introduced by [REDACTED]. This motion was an attack on the "Daily Worker" and asked for the removal of JOE CLARK. The motion was tabled. ~~C~~

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All documents and other proposals in regard to the publications were referred back to the Publications Committee of the National Committee. ~~C~~

SI GERSON asked for permission to reply to what he called some scurrilous attacks against the "Daily Worker." He said that the attacks involved him and JOHN GATES and they appeared in "Newsweek." GERSON was told that he did not need permission and he could use the normal channels for his reply. ~~C~~

Motion Concerning the
"Daily Worker" by BEN DAVIS, JR. ~~C~~

BEN DAVIS made a proposal calling for the immediate re-organization of the staff of the "Daily Worker" and for the shifting of JOE CLARK to other work. ~~C~~

DENNIS made a substitute proposal that DAVIS' proposal be referred to the National Executive Committee. Then DENNIS withdrew this substitute proposal. ~~C~~

A vote was taken on DAVIS' motion. There were twenty-seven votes against, twelve in favor and six abstentions. Thus, DAVIS' motion was defeated. ~~C~~

Motion by CARL WINTER Concerning
the Carrying Through of the
Line of the Party ~~C~~

CARL WINTER made a motion which states that Communists in mass organizations must carry through the line of the Party. They have a right to dissent inside the Party, but even this dissent cannot be a fighting opposition to the majority line. ~~C~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741
JEK:cjz

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This motion was endorsed in essence but will be edited. It contains the idea that there should be no conflict with democratic centralism. ~~X~~

Report by the National Appeals Committee | ~~X~~

MORRIS CHILDS made a report for the National Appeals Committee. He gave a report on the case and the New Jersey case. ~~X~~

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The report on the New Jersey case was somewhat revised because of the fact that there is some danger that the expelled group in New Jersey may be joining an ultra-Left group. ~~X~~

The decisions of the National Appeals Committee were adopted unanimously. (Copy of the report on the New Jersey case will be submitted to the Bureau, New York and New Jersey Offices by separate letter.) ~~X~~

Report on Leadership by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT | ~~X~~

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT made a report on leadership and recommended that BOB THOMPSON, PETTIS PERRY and JACK STACHEL be added to the National Committee. ~~X~~

There was a fight on the part of the Left, led by CHARLIE LOMAN. They did not want to add JACK STACHEL to the National Committee. They argued that he ran for this office at the National Convention and lost. The reply was that he could not run at the time of the convention. His name was placed in nomination despite his objection. At the time he still had to report on the basis of some legal action and it was thought inadvisable for him to run for the National Committee. ~~X~~

Although there were some sharp words on this, JACK STACHEL, BOB THOMPSON and PETTIS PERRY were overwhelmingly elected to the National Committee. In addition, STACHEL and BOB THOMPSON were added to the National Executive Committee. ~~X~~

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CG 100-33741
JEK:cjz

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Two secretaries were officially added to the National Administrative Committee by the National Committee. They are CARL ROSS, in charge of farmers matters and EARL DURHAM, in charge of youth matters. They can function with the National Administrative Committee if they wish to and will be called into New York from time to time for this purpose. Since neither will be living in New York, they will not function regularly with the National Administrative Committee. ~~X~~

The National Administrative Committee was functioning without the endorsement of the National Committee. The National Administrative Committee was legalized by a vote. The nine secretaries are to be considered the National Administrative Committee and the National Administrative Committee is to be considered a part of the structure of the Party. ~~X~~

In addition, the National Committee approved HERBERT APTHEKER as editor of "Political Affairs" and also approved AL BLUMBERG as the legislative secretary. The verification of commissions and appointments to commissions was left to the National Executive Committee. ~~X~~

The next meeting of the National Executive Committee, which is scheduled to take place on September 14 and 15, 1957, will give assignments to all persons who have been released from prison. ~~X~~

The point on the agenda dealing with the recent events in the Soviet Union and the draft editorial in this regard were not discussed. It never reached the floor and was referred back to the National Administrative Committee. Members of the National Committee were asked to send in amendments to improve this editorial. ~~X~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741
JEK:cjz

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Comments of CG 5824-S* / ~~Q~~

It would be wrong to believe that what transpired at this July 27-28, 1957, meeting of the National Committee was a victory for the Right Wing. On the basis of what happened in the Soviet Union, the Middle or anti-Sectarian group was encouraged, shifted somewhat to the Left, modified its international approaches to some extent and made alliances with that group in the Party which believes in international solidarity and loyalty to the Soviet Union. While recent events in the leadership of the Communist Party, Soviet Union will prevent the uncritical endorsement of everything Russia does, the editorial on these events which is scheduled for the August, 1957 issue of "Political Affairs" will be the platform for this new leadership. ~~Q~~

JOHNNY GATES sustained some serious defeats. The acceptance of STACHEL's report on the "Daily Worker" was a defeat for GATES. Although JOE CLARK will not be fired immediately, he will be transferred when the re-organization takes place. The National Committee also rejected GATES' threat to resign. ~~Q~~

When this meeting of the National Committee was being prepared, the Middle group threatened that it was going to give an ultimatum to the Left. It would insist that the Communist Party, USA, act independently. It would say that those who put foreign issues to the forefront are doing the Party a disservice. Further, that should the Left group obtain a majority and insist on its point of view, that is, that the American Party uncritically follow the Soviet Party and endorse all actions of the so-called people's democracies, then there would have to be a new leadership in the Communist Party, USA. This was the essence of the first draft of STEIN's report on organization. ~~Q~~

STEIN's final report was not as belligerent nor as emphatic as his first draft and his oral statements. This tactic of compromise helped to shatter and break up the Left and made possible a victory for the group which is against both extremes. More than this, the Left was handicapped because STEIN's report

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CG 100-33741
JEK:cjz

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

showed the decisions, resolutions and platform of the 16th National Convention. It pointed out that the convention resolutions are binding on all members. &

The Left made a feeble effort but found that it was organizationally and politically disabled and in retreat. It could not oppose the convention decisions because that would be anti-Party. In addition, there were rumors floating around that the ultra-Left, led by AL LANNON, who is now in California,

[redacted] and others of the Harlem group, were planning a secret Eastern seaboard conference to organize a new and pure Communist Party. These rumors were not verified. It was suggested that the National Appeals Committee try to find out if such an anti-Party group is in the making. &

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It was also said that this ultra-Left group has characterized FOSTER and DAVIS as traitors. Therefore, FOSTER and DAVIS could not very easily defend the Left. There is no doubt that the events in the Soviet Union, with the characterization of MOLOTOV, MALENKOV and KAGANOVICH as anti-Party and factionalists, influenced the thinking in the American Party, particularly on the part of the Left. The Left tried to fight but did not get anywhere. We can, therefore, say that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER has lost his grip on the majority. The split in the Left, the expulsions in the Communist Party Soviet Union and the fight against dogmatism have considerably weakened this group. Yet, if SID STEIN and those of the Middle group had gone through with their original threat, they could not have consolidated their hold on the Communist Party, USA. &

This victory of the Middle group, which also includes those who favor more cooperation with the Soviet Union and the endorsement of the Soviet Union's action in Hungary, would never have occurred on the basis of an anti-international platform. Compromise won for the Middle group. &

The addition of JACK STACHEL, BOB THOMPSON and the participation of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN in the National Executive

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CG 100-33471
JEK:cjz

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Committee will mean that the Middle group will more or less control the National Executive Committee. The decisions on organizations also indicate that the Middle group has a fairly strong hold on the National Committee. ~~C~~

- 64 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (#19)

SUBJECT: CP-USA MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

DATE: 8/7/57

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On 7/19/57, [REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished photographs of documents then in possession of CP functionaries at CP headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City. Negatives of photographs furnished by informant are being retained in New York file 100-80641-1B346. Should any of this information be disseminated outside the Bureau, care should be exercised to protect the identity of the informant.

Included in the photographs furnished by informant, and attached hereto, was a 2 page memorandum captioned "Roll Call-Get the Party Rolling," which concerned itself with a drive for CP membership.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-14-2011

RJL:jeh
(1)

100-80638-1236
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JUL 17 1957
FBI - NEW YORK
#19

ROLL CALL—GIVE THE PARTY ROLLING

I. ROLL CALL—WHY?

Result of period of McCarthyism, Party organization—direct contact with membership—seriously weakened. Members forced to sever direct contacts because of job security, etc; methods of meeting McCarthyite threat resulting in disattachment of many comrades; lack of operating transfer system caused people to be lost when moving ~~from~~ to new area.

Just as pressure of attacks lessened, developing ideological conflicts within party added to organizational weakening. Some left over disagreements; many others just drifted because party attention to organization suffered from major focus on ideological questions.

Revitalization of party depends on beginning to translate resolution into action by membership. Only DIRECT, PERSONAL CONTACT with members can stop the outward drift, draw together tenuous organizational strands, gauge the real status of membership numerically and assess ~~the~~ ideological status.

II. ROLL CALL—WHAT?

A Major campaign—through direct personal visits—to reestablish contact with members not in contact otherwise. To determine status of members—active or inactive, assigned or unassigned, self-considered member or not, self-considered sympathizer or not. To determine ideological approach of ~~members~~ these categories: attitude toward Resolution and party program, obtain members opinions of same. To provide members with copies of Resolution and Constitution as base for thinking and further discussion.

Roll Call not a registration of members, but a survey and means of providing an organizational structure that can lead to eventual registration.

III. ROLL CALL—WHO?

Every person known to Section leadership and active as having been in Party during past period, regardless of present status. Roll Call will serve

Roll Call / 11-11-1956

to assign those currently unattached, determine what interim forms are necessary for those not yet ready to accept club assignments.

IV. ROLL CALL—~~EDW~~

Special committee

Key is personal visits. /Section/~~membership~~—including SO and Section Membership director—responsible to organize assignment of actives to visits, guarantee follow-ups. Visitor to take copies of Resolution and Constitution, questionnaire. Best possible set-up: invite member to club or section meeting for report and discussion on 16th Convention and/or local conventions.

- a) When member expresses willingness to accept assignment: guarantee that contact is made with club or with others engaged in forming club.
- b) When member expresses desire to remain in party, but without assignment: guarantee contact with club for purpose of follow-up, additional visits with literature, further discussion, determination of activities in which member will participate. Explore possibility of establishing non-club grouping, such as discussion or study group, social group.
- c) When member declares decision to sever party contact: determine specific disagreements, emphasize possibility of working out disagreements within party ranks, determine areas of cooperation with party organization, establish methods of further contact and discussion. Explore possibilities of intermediate forms as above.

Obtain additional contacts from members visited. ~~Large~~ Draw visited member into visiting program.

Determine dues status, urge payment of as much back dues as possible. This is not to be a deterrent in any way to reassignment and funds so obtained can defray costs of distributing Resolution and Constitution to members.

Section leadership will ~~submit~~ correlate and assess results of visits, report to State committee, which will correlate reports for natl office.

V. ROLL CALL—~~WHL~~

To begin June 1st—~~or sooner~~—and conclude July 31st—no later.

LET'S GET ROLLING!!

SAC, NEWARK

8/6/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-7451)

CP, USA DISTRICT NUMBER 14 ORGANIZATION
IS-C

On 7/10/57, Mr. [redacted] Fifth Avenue, NYC (protect identity), furnished to SAS [redacted] and JOHN F. LANGTRY a brief case which he had found on 7/9/57 in a telephone booth in the Independent Subway station at 23rd Street and Sixth Avenue, NYC.

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A review of the contents of the brief case reflected that it belonged to SID STEIN (Organizational Secretary, CP USA, per CG 5824-S on 5/1/57).

Having been notified by the NYO of the location of his brief case, SID STEIN and his attorney appeared at the NYO of the FBI on 7/16/57 to claim the brief case. STEIN was requested to sign a receipt for the contents of the brief case and upon the completion of this receipt, the brief case and its contents were returned to STEIN.

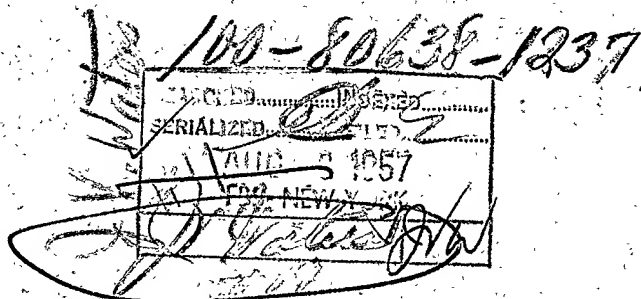
The above-mentioned receipt is maintained in NY file 100-50090-1B. The original film is maintained in NY file 100-50090-1B222.

Included in the contents of SID STEIN's brief case were handwritten notes captioned, "Meeting With N.J. County Organizer on Party Organization." Copies of these notes are attached.

- 4 - Newark (100-) (CP, USA DISTRICT
NUMBER 14 ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (ENCs.)
(1 - 100-)
(1 - 100-) (CP FACTIONALISM) (RM)
1 - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (19-1)
1 - New York (100-7451) (CP, USA DISTRICT #14)

b6
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JFL:dlo
(6)



Meeting with H.J. ~~Partly~~ organizer on
Party organization.

How

One of the main problems is to
show our people that the Communists
provide important services to the W.C.
And our people —

It is true that in a historic
sense we helped in the org of the W.C.
But now it is our big task to help it
gain a qualitative improvement —

- 1) Participation in the struggle
for Negro rights
- 2) For inner Union Democracy

Our Vanguard Role is not confined
to areas where we are ahead of
the Mass Movement but also to
the Movement of the day —

Right now we have so
many people who are staying because
of traditional ties — Not because

They see any compelling reasons for
Existing Now —

Frankly he does not see the
Existence of a movement without
perspective for growth —

Estimate.

Essex

150 Members — loss of 50 from 1st
of year —

These losses were due to many
Reasons from to the current discussion

Out of these 150 there are
Some who are on the fence —

Majority of these are in clubs —

5 shop or industrial groups

— they are small groups, some not
well functioning — about 15 people
in them — these are had earnest
hosts —

1/3 of clubs have not been meeting -
Small size of clubs aggravates
the Internal Situation -

megunick club - 12 -

3 Dropped out since the
convention - we are
washed up
2 moved away -
amongst the 7 there is
lack of Enthusiasm -

Clinton Hill club I 13 People -

110 horses in this club -
1 - on the fence -
DAVE Gordon - Leader of
left group -
6 or 7 attend others
stay away -

Clinton Hill II 12-15

8-9 people attend
wholesome atmosphere - No 1.0 stress

Small club around jacket - does not
function -

Wood -

club does not function - lack
of Enthusiasm - No confidence -

Suburban - 5 clubs -

about 35 - 5 dropped out -
family leader in the area has lost
its vigour and Enthusiasm - "Habit"
her heart in it - Not one of
these 5 clubs is consistently functioning -

Tubman Section.

20 people -

R.R.

22 - 1 or 2 houses 5 clubs

all meeting and functioning - active

GN Work. Never go to the

"in fighting" leadership Not disaffected
very skillful herding consistently
working for unity -

Weakening Showed In Some of them
Now waiting to leave the industry —
Union County —

8 clubs — 51 — 7 drops —
1 drop since Conv.

3 clubs — to 1 —

2 " " 1 — ~~to~~ 9 — people

It is difficult to get club organizer.

Lack of Enthusiasm — Confidence —

4 Not sure whether they will remain
our staying in because of traditional

Ties — don't see leadership, have

No confidence that Conv. meant

Basic changes — wanted us to

take a stronger stand on Haying —

In spite of this the club has been

meeting regularly 2 weeks ago there

were 6 people in the meeting —

The club as such has not withdrawn

any activity — Paul Richards is active

In Meeting —

100% dues paid through

Mar 1 —

\$125 on fund drive —

press 95 back —

Dont see any particular need for the P.W.
On the fence?

3 -

4

Roseville club--

Just Beginning discussion of
Convention - agreed to stay in
To see what convention decided and
what decisions will be carried out--

Plainfield No losses--
21 - Mar -

County Council Had a discussion
On the deplorable situation on the
School System - Committee was
set up to Minnes Report on
Status of schools to help the
debs and members develop a campaign
for better schools -

Prochure on what we
want

/ ON Socialism and
what it will mean

- 1) What is the party program?
- 2) Why should I be a Communist?
- 3) ~~Being~~ Being a Communist makes it more difficult for me to be a mass leader —
- 4) Can not the mass organizations themselves advance our immediate aims —
- 5) Lack of confidence in the leadership's abilities —
 - 1) Initiative of clubs —
 - 2) Memorandum's from N.C. to clubs of the Party —
 - 3) MORE direct communications to party clubs —Letter from N.C. Well received —
Likewise H. Bomb — letter.

Our Main Emphasis must be on the domestic
issues ^{Not} ~~Alan~~ MASH. Foster Desch-

apotheker - Friedman -
MAO - Tse-tung -

Essex - 150 - 50

Union - 51 - 7

Camden - 60 - 6

Passaic 70 13

Hudson 50 - 10

Middlesex 27 - 8

Mercer 60 - 10

FARM 100 - 15

Bergen 35 - 5

603 124

F B I

Date: 8/6/57

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

Registered Mail
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

To: Director, FBI (100-3-68)

From: SAC, Philadelphia (100-32208)

CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

C I N A L

On 8/5/57, [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, and on 8/6/57, [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SAs [] respectively, of the following:

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
- ① - New York (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Boston (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Pittsburgh (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Springfield (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (INFO.) (RM)
- 1 - Seattle (INFO.) (RM)
- 8 - Philadelphia:
 - 1 - 100-32208
 - 1 - 100-2427 (DAVID DAVIS)
 - 1 - 65-1686 (THOMAS NABRIED)
 - 1 - 100-38020 []
 - 1 - 100-21310 []

1 - 100-42205 Sub A (CINAL, LIBRARY)

AR:JMB
(26)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19-1
SEC. 20b6

b7C
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100-80638-1238

SEARCHED [] INDEXED []
SERIALIZED [] FILED []
AUG 13 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

W. V. []
W. V. []

PH 100-32208

A meeting of the District Committee, Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), was held 8/2/57 at [redacted] Philadelphia, Pa., residence of [redacted]

[redacted] Fifteen members of the CPEPD District Committee were present. The agenda included a continuation of a discussion on organization which was related to a previous discussion held in New York City at the CPUSA National Office which was attended by DAVID DAVIS, [redacted] and THOMAS NABRIED, CPEPD District officials. DAVID DAVIS, District Organizer, CPEPD, gave the main report. He furnished information received at the National Committee meeting relative to the current membership status of the CP throughout the country. He provided the following figures for the below-listed districts which reflect their membership prior to the 20th Congress, CPSU, and their current membership:

| <u>District</u> | <u>Membership Prior 20th Congress</u> | <u>Current Membership</u> |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| New York | 8800 | 3500-4000 |
| New England | 387 | 150 |
| Eastern Pennsylvania | 600 | 450 |
| Western Pennsylvania | 120 | 85 |
| Ohio | 588 | 450 |
| Michigan | 411 | 300-350 |
| Illinois | 1000 | 600-700 |
| Minnesota | 272 | 200 |
| Wisconsin | 164 | 125 |
| New Jersey | 730 | 600 |
| Washington State | 350 | 300 |
| Connecticut | 200 | 100 |
| California | 2900 | 2200 |

PH 100-32208

DAVIS remarked that since the last registration the Party has lost approximately 10,000 members. DAVIS further remarked that the reports from the southern states were not in but they would undoubtedly reflect a similar decline in membership.

It was announced during District Committee meeting that CP now felt it had rid itself of "excess baggage," its remaining members being a hard core which should provide a good basis upon which to rebuild Party. It was announced that pamphlets will be sent into the Philadelphia area on the topics of peace and civil rights and the Negro problem, which issues will be stressed in Party rebuilding plans.

Organizational Secretary for District, claimed he had been meeting with Quakers on H-bomb question and had received pamphlets from them for distribution. He urged that CP members participate in a ceremony commemorating dropping of A-bomb on Hiroshima, which was being sponsored by the Quakers for the evening of 8/6/57 in Philadelphia.

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b7C

HENNRICH

8/7/57

PLAIN TEXT

AIR TEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-4076)

RE: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
IS - C
CINAL

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

On 8/4/57, [redacted] advised that at meeting of District Committee, CP EPD, 8/2/57, at [redacted] Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, DAVID DAVIS, District Chairman and member of the National Committee, CP, USA, gave a report on Party membership, and stated that since the CP Registration which was held after the 20th Congress and prior to the CP, USA, National Convention at which time the Party had 17,000 members, the membership has dropped to 10,000. DAVIS also cited the following examples of losses in membership during this period: New England from 307 to 150; Eastern Pennsylvania from 600 to 450; Western Pennsylvania from 120 to 85; Ohio from 588 to 450; Michigan from 411 to 350; Illinois from 1000 to between 600 and 700; Minnesota from 272 to 200; Washington State from 350 to 300; New Jersey from 730 to 600; Connecticut from 200 to 100; California from 2900 to 2200; Wisconsin from 164 to 125. Informant advised that figure for Eastern Pennsylvania is exaggerated as this is about the figure given at time of recent District Convention and would indicate no loss in membership since that time which is not the case. According to informant, the consensus of members at the meeting was that the loss in membership was due to 1. people being confused on the question of the 20th Congress; 2. disagreement among the people on the Hungarian question; and 3. belief on the part of some people there is no longer any need for the Party.

BROWN
END

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
- ① - New York (Info)(REGIS. MAIL)
- 1 - Philadelphia (Info)(REGIS. MAIL)
- 3 - Baltimore
100-18223
100-19376 (CINAL)

JAK:jmc
(8)

100-80638-1239
J.V.
Waters
Waters
W.V.

b7D

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, PORTLAND (100-3952-Sub 14)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
IS-C

DATE: 8/7/57

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU UNLESS IT IS SUITABLY PARAPHRASED AND THE INFORMANT'S IDENTITY SHOULD NOT BE DISCLOSED THROUGH ANY LOCALITY OR ACTIVITY. CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT. THE BUREAU HAS INSTRUCTED THAT, IN SUBMITTING EXTENSIVE INFORMATION IN REPORT FORM, MATERIAL FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] IT MAY BE DESIRABLE TO USE TWO OR MORE SYMBOL NUMBERS. BUREAU AUTHORITY, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE REQUESTED BEFORE SUCH IS DONE.

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| Source | Received | Agent | Location |
|------------|----------------------|------------|------------|
| [REDACTED] | 8/1/57 SA [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |

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3-Bureau (100-3-69)(AM)(RM)
1-Baltimore (RM)
1-100- (GEORGE MEYERS)
1-Birmingham (RM)
1-100-743 (HOSEA HERMAN HUDSON)
1-Boston (RM)
1-100- (MICHAEL RUSSO)
1-Butte (RM)
1-100- [REDACTED]
4-Chicago (RM)
1-100- (MAURICE (MORRIS) CHILDS)
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
1-100- (SAM KUSHNER)
1-Cleveland (RM)
1-100- (HY LUMER)
1-Denver (RM)
1-100- [REDACTED]
4-Detroit (RM)
1-100- (CARL WINTER)
1-100- (HELEN WINTER)
1-100- (TOM DENNIS)
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-Indianapolis (RM)
1-100- (EMANUEL BLUM)

3-Los Angeles (RM)
1-100-4663 (BEN DOBBS)
1-100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)
1-100-52571 [REDACTED]

1-Minneapolis (RM)
1-100- (CARL ROSS)

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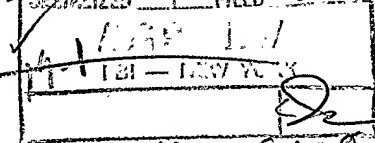
2-Newark (RM)
1-100- [REDACTED]
1-100- (PAT TOOHEY)

21-New York (AM)(RM)
1-100- (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
1-100-8064 (CP, USA, ORG)
1-100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(#19)
1-100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(#19)
1-100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)(#19)
1-100-89816 (FRED FINE)(#19)
1-100-50090 (SID STEIN)(#19)
1-100-13923 [REDACTED](#19)
1-100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(#7-6)
1-100-92763 (PETTIS PERRY)(#7-6)
1-100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)(#19)
1-100-17923 (JOHN GATES)(#19)
1-100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)(#19)

JAB:jdt
(5)

(Copies Con't Page 2)

Waters



100-80638-1240

PD 100-3952-Sub 14

COPIES CON'T:

21-New York (Con't)
1-100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (#19)
1-100-79025 [REDACTED] (#12-16)
1-100-18673 [REDACTED]
1- 65-5604 (BILL ALBERTSON)
1-100-84275 (BILL PATTERSON) (#12-11)
1-100-110840 (EARL DURHAM) (#19)
1-100-52959 [REDACTED]
1-100-80309 [REDACTED]
1-Philadelphia (RM)
1-100- (DAVID DAVIS)
1-Pittsburgh (RM)
1-100- (STEVE NELSON)
1-San Francisco
1-100- (AL RICHMOND)
2-Seattle (RM)
1-100- (BURT NELSON)
1-100- ([REDACTED])
5-Portland
2-100-3952-Sub 14 (CP, USA, ORG.)
1-100-9513 [REDACTED]
1-100-8528 (HOSEA HUDSON)
[REDACTED]

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By report dated 8/1/57 [REDACTED] listed the names of the persons hereinafter set out as individuals who were in attendance to the informant's knowledge at the National Committee (NC) meeting, CP, USA, held in New York 7/27-28/57:

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
EUGENE DENNIS
BEN DAVIS
FRED FINE
SID STEIN
[REDACTED]
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
PETTIS PERRY
JIM JACKSON
JOHN GATES
HY LUMER

CARL ROSS
[REDACTED]
CARL WINTER
MAURICE CHILDS
(or MORRIS CHILDS)
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
JACK STACHEL
AL RICHMOND
[REDACTED]

GEORGE MEYERS
(or JOHN MEYERS)
PAT TOOY (TOOHEY)
BEN DOBBS
DOROTHY HEALY (HEALEY)
[REDACTED] a white woman
from Tennessee
[REDACTED]
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
[REDACTED] Negro, deep
South

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FD 100-3952-Sub 14

MANY BLOOM (EMANUEL BLUM)
STEVE NELSON
BURT NELSON

[REDACTED]
HELEN WINTER
TOM DENNIS, young
Negro man

[REDACTED]
BILL ALBERTSON .
MIKE RUSSO

[REDACTED]
BILL PATTERSON (Negro) ✓
EARL DURHAM

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On 8/1/57 photographs of various individuals
contained in the Communist Album were exhibited to [REDACTED]
by SA [REDACTED] for possible further identification.

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By report dated 8/1/57, received by SA [REDACTED]
8/1/57 [REDACTED], informant identified the following
persons, some of whom are in addition to those referred to in
the list above as being in attendance at the NC meeting:

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[REDACTED]
THOMAS DE WITT DENNIS

(who informant stated engaged in discussion on youth
matters during NC meeting)

HELEN WINTER

(who attended the NC meeting with her husband, CARL WINTER)

SAM KUSHNER

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[REDACTED]
(who informant stated is known in New York as [REDACTED])

(in conversation with BURT NELSON, Washington state CP
chairman, in presence of informant commented that his,
KWATT's, son is working in the woods in Washington State;
he stated his son had contacted one [REDACTED], the
Washington CP organization secretary, or his wife when
the son first went to Washington State)

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[REDACTED]
DAVID DAVIS

(who, according to informant, entered into discussion on
the floor during one session of NC meeting)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)
SUBJECT: CP, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

DATE: 8/8/57

On 7/19/57, [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished photographs of documents then in the possession of CP functionaries at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC.

b7D

Negatives of these photographs are being retained in NY file 100-80641-1B346.

Should any of this information be disseminated outside the Bureau, care should be exercised to paraphrase the information so as not to compromise the informant.

Included in the photographs furnished by the informant was the rough draft "Report on Party Organization" to be delivered by SID STEIN, Organizational Secretary, CP, USA, to the full National Committee of the CP, scheduled to meet in NYC 7/27-28/57.

In his report, STEIN sets out the following CP membership figures:

| | |
|---------------------|-------|
| New York | 3,500 |
| Northern California | 600 |
| Southern California | 1,600 |

2 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
1 - All Offices (RM)

1 - New York (100-80638)

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100-80638-1241

NY 100-80638

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Illinois | 1,600 |
| Ohio | 500 |
| Michigan | 350 |
| Massachusetts | 150 |
| Connecticut | 100 |
| Eastern | |
| Pennsylvania | 450 |
| Western | |
| Pennsylvania | 50 |
| New Jersey | 600 |
| Washington | 300 |
| Oregon | 60 |
| Maryland | 100 |
| South | 100 |
| Minnesota | 200 |
| Indiana | 75 |
| Wisconsin | 125 |
| Colorado - Rocky | |
| Mountains | 100 |
| Missouri-Iowa | 75 |

STEIN in his report further states that:

"The Party has continued to lose members since the convention. The losses are serious in each district. These figures do not tell the whole story. Amongst the 10,000 members we now have there are hundreds who sit on the fence and hundreds more who are in but inactive. This passivity and inactivity is especially true amongst large sections of the middle leadership. The losses have been heaviest where the extreme left and the extreme right have been engaged in the severest factional fight. In too many

NY 100-80638

"places there is no way of getting accurate figures. Nevertheless, I believe that the figures available give a pretty accurate picture of our situation."

It is noted that the above tabulation totals 10,635. The report stated that there were about 10,000 members.

The above CP membership figures are being furnished for the information of all offices.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) (19-1) DATE: 8/8/57

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

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During the course of an interview on 7/19/57 with [REDACTED] Avenue, NYC, furnished the following information to SAS [REDACTED] former [REDACTED] of NY County CP and [REDACTED] of Harlem Region CP, should be protected by a T symbol and should be characterized as being in a position to furnish reliable information.

The original information is maintained in [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] stated that after the discontinuance of the issue of CP membership cards about 1949, the Section Organizers and Membership Directors were the only persons who would have any accurate figures as to membership. He admitted that from 1949 the total figures for membership could never be considered 100% correct. He added that any membership figures which were given out by the CP all were exaggerated and for his own purpose while a CP official, he always reduced by at least 10% any figure that was given to him. He explained that there were only two proper bases for membership figures, namely dues payments and annual registration. He added that the first of these was the basis laid down in the constitution of the CP, USA.

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which [REDACTED] expressed the opinion that the membership figures came out after the recent National Convention of the CP should be scaled down even lower at the present time. He said that the current figures he had in mind were not solely a matter of conjecture on his part, but were based also on information he had received from contacts of his who were still active in the CP.

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- 1 - Boston (100-) (CP, USA DISTRICT #1 MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (100-) (CP, USA DISTRICT #15 MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-) (CP, USA DISTRICT #3 MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
- 1 - Pittsburgh (100-) (CP, USA DISTRICT #5 MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-128814) (CP, USA DISTRICT #2 MEMBERSHIP) (19-2)

ABN:dlo
(6) *llc*

100-128814

[Signature]

NY 100-80638

[] stated that the estimated figures based on this source were not more than 5000 active CP members in the United States. Of this figure, according to [] 3000 members were active in NY State. He said that in the face of the information he had received, he did not believe that there were more than 100 active members in the CP in Massachusetts and his figure for CP members in Connecticut would be half of that in Massachusetts.

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As far as Philadelphia and the Eastern Pennsylvania District of the CP were concerned, [] stated that he did not believe that they had suffered as severe a drop in membership and he believed that the figure for that area would be between 200 and 300 members. As for Western Pennsylvania, [] stated he believed there were not more than 25 active members.

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[] stated that he believed that the CP is carrying on a concentrated campaign to win back members who have drifted away within the past year. He said that while this campaign might be ^{on} a nation wide basis, he could only be sure that it was being carried on intensively in NY State.

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22

8/8/57

AIR-TEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-8973)
SUBJECT: CP-USA
DISTRICT 5
PITTSBURGH DIVISION
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

C I N A L

SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity should be concealed, on 8/5/57, advised SE [redacted] that on that date a meeting of District 5, CP members was held at 5542 Jackson Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., which was attended by STEVE NELSON, Chairman, [redacted]

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STEVE NELSON, at this meeting, gave a resume of activities which transpired at a recent meeting of the CP, USA National Committee which he attended at New York City. The main points on the agenda at the National Committee meeting concerned the proposed ban on H bomb testing, the status of the "Daily Worker," and party organization.

NELSON related that EUGENE DENNIS at the National Committee meeting gave a report concerning the struggle for control of H weapons wherein it was indicated that the entire country is becoming more aware of the effects of strontium 90 from atomic fall out. DENNIS related that the "Radford-Dulles crowd" is determined to continue H bomb tests and rule the world. He stated that more and more the United States position is broken down into a struggle for power. NELSON stated that he would not attempt to go into detail on this matter since the main points will appear in the next issue of "Political Affairs."

NELSON stated that JACK STACHEL made a report to the National Committee regarding the "Daily Worker" wherein he pointed out that the paper was moving in the direction of selling the plant and relocating where operating costs would be lower. He indicated also that unless money comes in from somewhere it may be necessary to reduce the paper to four pages.

(SEE COPIES NEXT PAGE)

(1-New York)

AIR-TEL

100-80638-1243

COPIES:

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- ⑦ - New York (RM)
 - (1 - 100-CP,USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-CP,USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-EUGENE DENNIS)
 - (1 - 100-JACK STACHEL)
 - (1 - 100-[REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-ROBERT THOMPSON)
 - (1 - 100-SID STEIN)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - Detroit (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - Chicago (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - Springfield (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - Seattle (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - New Haven (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-CP,USA, Membership)(RM)
- 7 - Pittsburgh
 - (2 - 100-8973)
 - (1 - 100-8664 (CP,USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-1763 (STEVE NELSON)
 - (1 - 100-2443 [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-7763 [REDACTED])
 - (1 - 100-3443 [REDACTED])

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ERC:rl
(29)

PG 100-8973

NELSON related that the next topic on the agenda of the National Committee meeting was a very lengthy talk by SID STEIN concerning party organization. STEIN pointed out that since the CP convention the membership of the party has been reduced to approximately 10,000 from 17,000; that it was the lowest in 30 years; and that the retreat had not yet stopped as many of the comrades are standing on the sides waiting to see what happens.

NELSON stated also that STEIN had furnished the following membership figures to the National Committee denoting a reduction in all districts:

| | | |
|----------------------|------|----------------------|
| New York | from | 8000 to 3500 or 4000 |
| Eastern Pennsylvania | from | 600 to 450 |
| Western Pennsylvania | from | 120 to 85 |
| Ohio | from | 588 to 450 |
| Michigan | from | 411 to 300 |
| Illinois | from | 1000 to 600 or 700 |
| Minnesota | from | - to 200 |
| Washington (State) | from | 355 to 300 |
| New Jersey | from | 730 to 600 |
| Connecticut | from | 200 to 100 |
| California | from | 2900 to 2200 |

NELSON related that they had let stagnation set in and that it would be a battle to overcome it.

NELSON further stated that BOB THOMPSON spoke at the National Committee meeting and that his talk concerned broad issues regarding the fight for civil liberties, etc.

NELSON added that another speaker at the National meeting was [redacted] who gave a talk concerning the fight regarding jails, wherein American prisoners are exploited and prison made goods produced to compete with those produced by free labor.

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AIR - FBI

AIRTEL - MEMPHIS

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

RE: CP, USA, MEMPHIS
 2 - C;
 2 - A

[redacted] on 6/6/57 advised that AL ROSENBERG attended a meeting of the CP USA Section in San Francisco on 7/30/57 and participated in a recent National Committee meeting which he attended.

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ROSENBERG stated that the two principal topics discussed at this meeting were the ROSENBERG Report on Force and the CP USA Report on Party Organization. ROSENBERG stated that mimeographed copies of these reports will be sent to the West Coast in the near future and be available to field and sections.

ROSENBERG stated that the primary objective of the CP at the present time is reconstruction in an effort to rebuild the CP. He stated that the biggest problem at the present time which is creating a lot of confusion is the length of time required at local levels to hold conventions and elect officers. ROSENBERG disclosed that the National Committee is planning to re-register all CP members in the U.S. by December 1957. He stated that the CP in San Francisco County has passed a resolution to attempt to have all dues dues paid as soon as possible.

In regard to the "Daily Worker," ROSENBERG stated that the paper is in serious financial condition. He revealed that a resolution came before the National Committee to remove JAMES CLARK as Foreign Editor of the paper because he was using the paper to express his own views and not the views of the CP. No decision was reached on the resolution inasmuch as one of the members of the National Committee felt CLARK should be allowed to express his own views in the paper.

RECORDED: SF 103-1; on 7/30/57; received 6/6/57 by SA GEORGE B. [redacted]; Serial 125-21.

- 3 - BUREAU (100-200)
- 1 - FBI WASH; 1 - Los Angeles; 1 - SAN DIEGO; 1 - MEMPHIS (ALL 100-200)
- 1 - SF 100-20000 (CP MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - SF 100-27187 (CP CIO)
- 1 - CP 100-10001 (CPAL)
- WHL:G-C
- (10)

Handwritten initials

Handwritten signature

100-80638-1044

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
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 JUN 11 1957
 FBI - NEW YORK
Waters *HN*

JTB
SAC, BALTIMORE

AUG 9 1957

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, on July 19, 1957, made available photographs of documents maintained at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NY, NY. Included in the documents were 8 pages of photographs of hand written notes containing breakdown of membership in the Baltimore area. These photographs are enclosed for the information of the Baltimore Office.

b7D

If this material is disseminated it should be paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

The original negatives of this material are maintained in NY 100-80641-1B346.

- 1 - Baltimore (Encl. 1) *RM*
① - New York (100-80638)

RAD:hr

(2) *Rad*

100-80638-1245

| | |
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| SEARCHED..... | INDEXED..... |
| SERIALIZED..... | FILED..... |
| AUG 9 1957 | |
| FBI — NEW YORK | |

109

QDZ
DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

8/9/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

CP USA
MEMBERSHIP
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS - C

Re New York letter 7/10/57, setting out the progress of the NYO in identifying all of the CP members in the New York area.

Set out hereinafter is a breakdown showing the gain or loss in each County or Section of the SI for the period 7/1/57 to 8/1/57.

The Bureau will note that the NYO has changed the headings as set forth in the previous letters. The reason this was done was to more accurately show the NYO'S monthly progress, taking into consideration gains on the SI by transfers of SI subjects in from other offices and losses by transfers out of the NYO. The next to the last column, "Intra-Office Adjustment," is made to allow for transfers of SI subjects from one County to another. This, of course, would mean a loss in one County and a gain in another. This adjustment figure was utilized in order to obviate the necessity of keeping detailed records of the Intra-Office transfers of SI subjects from one County to another.

2 - BUREAU (100-3-68) RM
1 - NEW YORK (100-80638)

TSM:EMD
(3)

FILE STRIPPED
BY *QDZ* 4/21/75

Jan

100-80638-1246

| GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | NUMBER ON SI 7/1/57 | NEW SIs SINCE 7/1/57 | INTER OFFICE ADDITIONS (FD 128's IN | INTER OFFICE DELETIONS (FD 128 OUT | CANCELLED FROM SI | INTER OFFICE ADJUSTMENT | NUMBER SI 8/1/57 |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---|--|----------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| Bronx | 422 | 23 | 2 | 0 | 2 | -1 | 444 |
| Brooklyn | 536 | 12 | 4 | 2 | 3 | -1 | 548 |
| Queens | 475 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 3 | -2 | 476 |
| Lower Manhattan | 249 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 0 | -5 | 260 |
| Mid Manhattan | 240 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | -5 | 240 |
| Upper Manhattan | 438 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 6 | -12 | 427 |
| Westchester | 69 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -9 | 78 |
| Nassau | 76 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 77 |
| Putnam | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sullivan | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Richmond | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Columbia | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dutchess | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 2 |
| Greene | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Orange | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Rockland | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | -1 | 3 |
| Suffolk | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 11 |
| Ulster | 18 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 18 |
| Ver. Pend. | 43 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -6 | 49 |
| Special Section | 28 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -9 | 19 |
| Unavailable Sect. | 49 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -9 | 58 |
| TOTALS | 2678 | 66 | 7 | 6 | 17 | | 2728 |

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI
NY 100-80638

The NYO is currently working on approximately 200 cases for the purpose of submitting summary reports or up-to-date investigative reports for the purpose of recommending subjects be placed on the SI.

The Agent and supervisory personnel responsible for this program are making every effort possible to comply with the budded of 9/1/57.